

# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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*for Teachers and Students of History*

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## INTEGRAL FRENCH NATIONALISM

*Thomas P. Neill*

## ALBERT DE MUN AND SOCIAL CATHOLICISM

*Richard L. Porter*

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# Integral French Nationalism

Thomas P. Neill, M. A.

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S LIGHTLY over a year ago Pope Pius XI proclaimed that the great question troubling the world was that of nationalism, "by now a true form of apostasy." Today it is the driving force behind European power politics; it made war inevitable, and it makes almost impossible a lasting solution to the second great war. Like all "isms," nationalism is a fluid term whose content differs with its user and the time and place to which he applies it; but the definition of "apostasy" made by the late Holy Father can be applied to all forms of nationalism. For essentially it resolves itself into a deification of the nation; as a necessary consequence, all else is subjected to the welfare and the interests of the nation.

The most perfervid brand of nationalism today is undoubtedly that of Nazi Germany, which has been whipped into white heat only in recent years and has not yet passed the test of time. French nationalism, on the other hand, though quiet and restrained when compared with Nazism, has been constructed so firmly and rooted so deeply in the consciousness of the people during the last sixty years that France is frequently characterized by historians as a Nation of Patriots.<sup>1</sup> It is a nation held together by a highly centralized state which fosters a national culture and utilizes compulsory military service, complete control of education and such instruments at hand as the churches, the press and the radio, to develop a people supremely loyal to *la Patrie*. Thus to outsiders France has long appeared a nation of people trained from birth to place their nation on the top rung of their ladder of values.

But to those "intellectuals" of France who term themselves "integral nationalists,"<sup>2</sup> the Third Republic has done a rather slipshod job of making Frenchmen French. During the past sixty years these integral nationalists have taken upon themselves the task of inciting among all Frenchmen a nationalism more intense than that developed by the Third Republic, a nationalism rejecting all for which the Revolution stood and building on older and firmer foundations.

And they found in France fertile soil for their work. For the French have a number of "sacred traditions" which help to engender a national psychology welding Frenchmen together and setting them apart, in their own minds at least, from other nationalities. Most important of these traditions are: 1) that of the Catholic religion, for the French pride themselves on being the eldest daughter of the Church; 2) that of language; 3) the tradition of an independent government since the time of Clovis; 4) the tradition of a highly centralized government fostering a distinctly national culture and allowing no intermediary between itself and the people; 5) the more recent tradition that the State should mold the individual's thought through control of education and through compulsory military service. Nationalists in France have invoked these centralizing traditions to overcome the centrifugal forces of regionalism, Protestantism, Freemasonry, Communism, and the Liberalism and Individualism of the Nineteenth Century, each of which, they insist, disrupts national unity.

<sup>1</sup> Carlton J. H. Hayes, *France, a Nation of Patriots*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> This term is first used to describe the doctrine of nationalists in France by Charles Maurras in an article, "Le Nationalisme intégral," in *Le Soleil* of March 2, 1900.



There had been, of course, a strong element of nationalism in the French Revolution, but nationalists of the late Nineteenth Century disavowed any connection with the Revolution which, they held, destroyed the true and ancient grandeur of France. Their self-appointed task, therefore, was to undo the work of the Revolution and restore France to her former glory. Immediately after the Franco-Prussian War the seeds of modern integral nationalism sprouted forth in the writings and activity of such men as Léon Gambetta, Paul Déroulède, General Boulanger, Hyppolite Taine and Edouard Drumont; they were nourished by such episodes as the Panama scandal and the Dreyfus affair; they came to blossom in the doctrines and in the organizations of Maurice Barrès and Charles Maurras.<sup>3</sup>

Nationalist leaders in France looked upon the defeat of 1871 as a humiliation France could wipe from her escutcheon only by a war of revenge on Germany and by reconquering Alsace-Lorraine. Most prominent among the early modern nationalists were Léon Gambetta and Paul Déroulède, who sought to enkindle the "sacred flame of revenge" among all Frenchmen. Gambetta encouraged the League of Patriots formed after the war; he encouraged likewise the League of Teaching as well as various gymnastic and rifle societies which were to prepare Frenchmen for the day when they could again march into the Rhineland. As prime minister, he sought to appease Italy and to let England have her way in Egypt so as to save French blood for another campaign against Germany.

When Gambetta died in 1882, the poet-patriot, Paul Déroulède, who characterized himself as "an old crier for war," became leader of the nationalist group. Like Gambetta he preached the development of a nationalist military spirit, a spirit to be weakened neither by par-

<sup>3</sup> *The Rise of Integral Nationalism in France*, by William Curt Buthman (Columbia University Press, 1939), is the best work on this subject. It is written, as the sub-title indicates, "With Special Reference to the Ideas and Activities of Charles Maurras."

In the first hundred pages of his book Buthman traces the development of those ideas and activities of French nationalists who prepared the way for Maurras and *L'Action française*. His general outline may be stated thus: modern nationalism in France sprang from that country's defeat by Prussia in 1871. The anti-Semitism of Edouard Drumont and the environmental determinism of Hyppolite Taine, coupled with the desire for revenge on Germany preached by Paul Déroulède, were assembled by Maurice Barrès to become the doctrine of integral nationalism in France. The development of this doctrine was stimulated by such events as the Panama scandal and the Dreyfus agitation.

I have followed the general outline of Buthman's book in that part of this paper dealing with Déroulède, Drumont and Taine. I believe, however, that Buthman has not sufficiently stressed the importance of Barrès as a synthesizer and organizer of nationalist doctrine in France. Like so many other characters in history, Barrès paved the way for another who "cashed in" on his work. No doubt Maurras is the most important figure in French nationalist circles, but unless Barrès had cleared the way and laid such a firm foundation of nationalist doctrine, Maurras could never have builded as he did.

The author goes into great detail in studying the interior development of Maurras' character and attitudes and in showing how that development was passed on to the *Action française* which, under his leadership, became a "conquering idea." Buthman has presented a scholarly study in readable fashion; he has struck a good balance in his treatment of the ideas and activity of French "intellectuals" and of their interaction on each other. The book is valuable for anyone interested in the intellectual history of France, and it does much to make intelligible the attitude of Frenchmen toward the rest of the world.

ticularist enterprises nor by humanitarian undertakings. As president of the League of Patriots, he urged preparation for revenge on Germany and the institution of an authoritarian government which, he believed, could better accomplish his revenge than could the Third Republic. Integral nationalists since his time have maintained this policy as the basis of their doctrine and activity.

In the young minister of war, General Boulanger, Déroulède believed he had found the man of action who could realize his principles. When Boulanger was dismissed from the cabinet, Déroulède urged him to effect a *coup d'état* while he had the army and the people behind him. Boulanger's failure to act when the stage was set did not put an end to the nationalist hopes which had for the time been centered in him. On the contrary, it aroused in such young nationalists as Barrès the conviction that, to succeed, nationalism must have a doctrine.

A new ingredient was added to the nationalist movement by Edouard Drumont whose *France juive* appeared in 1886. In this work Drumont wrote of the Jewish economic conquest of France, and began an intensive anti-Semitic campaign. The entire nation, he charged, had been enslaved by "an infamous but cohesive minority" whose religion set them apart from the mass of Frenchmen and who were the real leaders of the religious persecutions in France, persecutions which had been conducted by their "valets," the Freemasons and Protestants. Freemasonry, indeed, was but a machine designed by the Jews to conquer the world. Drumont's campaign was aided immeasurably by the Panama scandal, exposed at this time.<sup>4</sup> That the principal offenders were the German Jews, Herz and Reinach, seemed to corroborate Drumont's charges against Jewish financiers.

The Dreyfus affair likewise gave the nationalists an occasion to direct their propaganda to an interested and inflamed public. The nationalists stated quite baldly that they were not concerned with Dreyfus' innocence, for, as the young journalist, Charles Maurras, put it, "What was a mere Jew's comfort compared with the French army, the glorious repository of the vital interests of France?"<sup>5</sup> Once again Déroulède organized his League of Patriots, this time to drive the "foreigners of the interior," those who supported Dreyfus, off the streets of Paris.

The basis for a doctrine which nationalists had been seeking was found in the psychological determinism of Hyppolite Taine, which made its appearance at this time. Taine claimed that man was an automaton whose actions were ruled by the hereditary characteristics of his race and by environment, the mold of the race. In his *Les origines de la France contemporaine* he evolved an apologia for a form of regionalism which nationalists

<sup>4</sup> In 1885 Cornelius Herz proposed to the Panama Canal Company that he be delegated to secure the acceptance by the Chamber and Senate of a bill authorizing the company to issue bonds. His fee was to be ten million francs. The company feared that its refusal to this proposal might result in an examination which would expose corruption and waste by the company's directors. Consequently it agreed, and Baron de Reinach, working for Herz, bribed and corrupted sufficient deputies and senators to get the law passed. Even this measure proved ineffectual, however, for the company had lost the confidence of investors and collapsed in 1888. Information of this corruption soon became public property and helped to bring about the company's failure.

<sup>5</sup> Buthman, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

(Please turn to page thirty-nine)



# Albert De Mun and Social Catholicism

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THE history of the Church in the nineteenth century is the history of a Church struggling to weather the storms attendant upon the collapse of the old order and the rise of the new. The change was not something clear-cut and "catastrophic." But if we ignore all the important economic, social, political, and religious factors which had been at work since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we might say that the old order "suddenly" collapsed in 1789, and that the last 150 years of our history (1789-1939) have been 150 years of attempts to tame the new economic and social forces and reestablish society in some kind of equilibrium.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the work of a Catholic leader who tried to solve the problems of his day and ours on the principles of Christ and the Catholic Church. A study of his life and work is particularly enlightening because in it we see the development of the Social Catholic Movement in France and its issues with both Socialism and Economic Liberalism. Against these false economic and social theories we see the true revolution of Christ well and adequately expressed in terms of present-day conditions and problems. And finally, we see the internal factions which made more difficult the work of the Church: (1) the reactionary "Old Regime" group with which centuries of Gallicanism had identified the Church, (2) the extreme Catholic Democrats who tended to be too "modern." Of course, our treatment here can be only summary, but it will, we hope, present some of the broader lines of this man's life, problems, and work.

## Monarchist vs. "Liberal"

As indicated above, the greatest obstacle to any true Social Catholic movement in France during the nineteenth century was the confusion caused by reactionary monarchism on the one hand, and by an anti-religious, false "liberalism" on the other. The roots of this confusion go back to the days of the French Revolution.

In 1789 the Church was, on the whole, a definite exponent of some kind of reform of the existing conditions. Of course, a large portion of the higher clergy (and therefore the most conspicuous) was, due to centuries of royal and Gallican interference in ecclesiastical appointments, very much tied to the Old Regime in thought and interest, for they were largely made up of the younger sons of noble houses, who could thus receive a place of honor and a "living" irrespective of whether they had any ecclesiastical vocation or not. Moreover, the French Church had had a long tradition of royal and noble patronage which made the upper classes feel that somehow the Church belonged to them and their class. However, we must not forget that there was a considerable portion of the hierarchy who felt their religious calling more strongly than their birth, and that there were the great masses of the lower clergy very close to the people and who were, in 1789, among the most sincere supporters of reform.

The greatest disaster for France was the alienation of the clergy. The radicals, or "liberals," gained control

of the Revolution, and, through the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, forced all worthy clerics and Catholics to repudiate the Revolution. Persecution and terror followed and generated such a mass of fear and hate for the Revolution that monarchy seemed to be the only possible *modus vivendi* for the Church. There seemed no middle path,—the only choice seemed to be either "liberalism" and irreligion—or religion and monarchy. Thus Social Catholicism was always to labor between these two fires of reaction and "liberalism." Essentially different from either extreme, it took a long time to make others realize that it was not a compromise. Even Albert de Mun did not clearly realize this at first, and many of his contemporaries never did. Throughout his career the main accusations hurled against him were accusations of "socialist" from the Right and "monarchist" and "clerical" from the Left. To many "religion" and "social reform" seemed incompatible.

## Early Life

Count Albert de Mun's early life was quite uneventful. He was born in 1841 of a noble family long distinguished in the service of France. There was a certain irony in his heredity; a distant ancestor had been a crusader with St. Louis at Damietta while a great-grandfather had been the materialist philosopher Helvétius!<sup>1</sup> The de Muns were always a military family, a grandfather having been an officer under Louis XVI and a lieutenant-general under Louis XVIII.<sup>2</sup> The family device of the de Muns was *Servir*.

From his earliest years Albert de Mun had had the sterling example and teaching of a saintly mother, and it was at her knee that he learned the deep piety which was to characterize him through life. In due time he was sent to school where his career, it must be confessed, was none too brilliant. He failed to receive his *baccalauréat-ès-lettres* and finally received a degree in science only with difficulty. After the completion of his course in military science at Saint-Cyr, he passed the next five years (1862-1867) in active service with the French cavalry in Algeria. In 1867 he returned to France, married, and was assigned to garrison duty at Clermont-Ferrand. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, he was attached to the army of Metz, where he was taken prisoner, and sent for internment to Aix-la-Chapelle.

This imprisonment was the first of a series of turning-points in his career. While at Clermont-Ferrand he had joined the local conference of St. Vincent de Paul and had become intimately cognizant of the working classes for the first time. However, save for this, his was the typical career of an army officer with little suggestion of his future career as a social worker. But now, in his

<sup>1</sup> Victor Giraud, *Un Grand Français: Albert de Mun* (Paris, 1918), 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. It must be remembered that at one time a patent of nobility had been a mark of definite service to society. Once when mocked for his noble birth, Albert de Mun proudly replied: "I am the son of those who for long centuries found their honor upon the field of combat and who poured forth their blood for France,—this was the foundation of the privileges they enjoyed."



captivity and in the company of a fellow-officer, Captain Count René de la Tour du Pin, he began to reflect upon the causes of his country's disaster in the then present war. A social turn was given to their philosophizings by a German Jesuit, Father Eck, who placed in their hands a treatise by Emile Keller which exposed the "Principles of 1789" in the light of the *Quanta Cura* of Pius IX.<sup>3</sup> This priest also acquainted them with the work of German Social Catholicism. They also met a certain Doctor Lingens, who subsequently became a prominent member of the Center Party and who outlined for them the social program of Bishop von Kettler. It was here that the two young French nobles first conceived the idea of a counter-revolution which was not political, and became imbued with the thought of saving the proletariat by means of a social organization based on Catholic principles and teaching.

After their release from captivity they lived through the revolt of the Paris Commune with all its horrors. This served as an object lesson to them to the need of saving the proletariat. De Mun was shocked at the ignorant indifference of the average bourgeois toward the problems of the poor. The bourgeois "liberalism" of the French Revolution, in spite of all its high-sounding idealism, had brought untold misery to the working classes. In the name of "economic liberty" all the protective associations which had once contributed to protect labor had been abolished,<sup>4</sup> and behind the mask of "natural laws" employers ruthlessly bartered for labor without any regard for the individual man, woman, or even child. The Revolution and the new Bourgeois State had championed irreligion or at best the mere semblance of religion. As de Mun saw, not only the proletariat but also the whole fabric of society were in danger.

#### *Catholic Workingmen's Clubs*

Little might have come of de Mun's observations if his theorizings had not received a concrete objective. For the characteristic which was so to distinguish de Mun from his fellow Catholic workers such as Le Play and Périn was his sense of realities and of the practical. De Mun contacted the workers; he studied politics, and other conditions as they *were* and not as they *should be*, while Le Play and Périn were inclined to be academic.

The concrete objective was provided one day in November, 1871, when a gray-haired, meanly-clad visitor was ushered into de Mun's apartment. The visitor was Maurice Maignen, a Brother of St. Vincent de Paul, and the director of a "Club of Young Workers." He told de Mun of his work, begged the young nobleman's assistance, and managed to extract a promise from him to address the young workers of the club. De Mun came, saw, and *was* conquered. His objective became as clear as noonday to him, and he set out on a road of endeavor which he was to tread until death. He became a crusader for God, for country, and in defense of the weak. He became a revolutionary, the bearer of the gospel of the revolution, the revolution of Christ and of the brotherhood of man.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The name of this volume was *L'encyclique du 8 décembre, 1864, et les principes de 1789*.

<sup>4</sup> Vocational associations were abolished by decree of the National Assembly on March 2, 1791.

<sup>5</sup> It must not be thought that these words are mere extrava-

A fortnight later, Albert de Mun, his brother Robert, and Maignen had induced La Tour du Pin, Paul Vrignault (a government official), Léon Gautier (a professor), Armand Ravelet (editor of the *Monde*), and two members of the National Assembly, Baron Léonce de Guirand, and Emile Keller, to join them in forming "A Committee for the Foundation of Catholic Workingmen's Clubs in Paris." In their "Appeal to Men of Good Will" they gave to the world a manifesto of Social Catholic Action. Within three years (by 1875) the "Association of Catholic Workingmen's Clubs" numbered 130 committees, 150 Clubs, and 18,000 members.\* By 1884 its membership had grown to 50,000; by 1900, to 60,000.<sup>6</sup> The reason for these relatively small numbers, especially among the urban workingmen, was probably a repugnance on the part of the workingmen towards patronage from aristocrats and also a certain distaste for religion.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, small as the membership might seem, this formation of the Catholic workingmen's clubs possessed real significance. Their development was accompanied by a nation-wide campaign to arouse the Catholic upper classes to their social duty; they ultimately made de Mun a conspicuous figure in national politics; and they provided the impetus for the present-day social Catholic movement in France. As an organization the "Association" was relatively unimportant; as the beginning of a movement it is of decided significance.

#### *Monarchist Politician (1875-1883)*

It must be admitted that the spirit of de Mun and his associates during the period from 1871 to 1875 was more one of reactionary abhorrence of revolution than one of confidence in the democratic social mission of Christianity. This reactionary frame of mind was at first strengthened by de Mun's entrance into politics in 1875. However, it was this entrance into politics and indeed into the inner circle of monarchism itself which was (1) to bring him to the fore as a conspicuous advocate of social legislation, and (2) to clarify his ideas on social and political matters. The monarchist period in the development of Count Albert de Mun was, considering his origin, natural. It is a tribute to his good sense and earnestness that it was but a preliminary phase in his growth as a social leader and did not prepossess him throughout life as it did some of his associates, Count René de la Tour du Pin, for instance. De Mun, even as a monarchist, was concerned primarily for the Church and for the masses; the reason for his monarchism was a sincere belief, which was shared by so many of his contemporaries, that the welfare of both were bound up with the cause of monarchy.

The by-elections to the National Assembly in 1875 displayed an ominous drift toward republicanism and anticlericalism. It was but natural, then, that de Mun, who had shown extraordinary eloquence and administrative ability as secretary-general of the Workingmen's Clubs, should be urged to enter the arena in defense of both

ganza on the part of the present author. They are actually expressed throughout de Mun's own *Ma Vocation Sociale*.

<sup>6</sup> Lecanuet, *L'Eglise du France sous la Troisième République*, I, 409. Also in Moon, *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France*, 85.

<sup>7</sup> Moon, *op. cit.*, 85.

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## EDITORIALS

### *The Fourth Centenary of the Society of Jesus*

Our next issue will be devoted to a Symposium on the Society of Jesus. On September 27, 1540, Pope Paul III, by his bull "Regimini militantis ecclesiae," officially confirmed the institute of Ignatius Loyola. Six years earlier, on August 15, 1534, Ignatius had gathered his six companions in a little chapel near Montmartre in Paris. The four-hundredth anniversary of this first vow day of the Company of Jesus was not commemorated as it might have been, the reason being the generally disturbed condition of European affairs. And now, when economic depression has given way to international strife, there is much to dampen jubilee festivities. However, a great deal of research and study has already gone into the making of monographs which will be published during the current year. The completion or near completion, moreover, of monumental works by Astrain, Duhr, Kröss, Fouqueray, Hughes, Brodrick, Bournichon, Garraghan and others, together with numerous more restricted studies, and most important of all, the *Monumenta Societatis Jesu* has provided a mass of factual data as well as scholarly interpretation for those who are interested in four centuries of combat for Christ and His Church.

Tentatively, we can announce several contributions to our symposium, each of them by a scholar who ranks with the best in his field. Father William H. McCabe will discuss the Jesuit Theatre and its influence; Fathers William J. McGucken and Alan P. Farrell will write on phases of Jesuit education; Father John F. Bannon will open up new vistas in mission history; Father Gilbert J. Garraghan will share his rich knowledge of the American scene; Fathers Gerald G. Walsh and W. Eugene Shiels, and other members of the "Institute of Jesuit History" will present special topics. The symposium should appeal to a wide audience.

### *Quattro-Centennial Thoughts*

The fourth centennial of the Society of Jesus will see the publication of much scholarly research into the mysteries of Jesuit activity during the past four hundred years and, no doubt, some panegyric oratory. A contribution to the subject, unintended perhaps, appears in the

current (October) number of the *American Historical Review*. Robert R. Palmer, whose recent monograph is appraised in our Book Review section, writes on "The French Jesuits in the Age of Enlightenment." For many the book and the article will be valued for the light they throw upon the *philosophes* and eighteenth century France. But there is also the palpable evidence that the Society on the eve of its suppression was not out of step with the dizzy and diseased times. The article presents a statistical study of the *Journal de Trévoux*. In this "enlightened" and "progressive" Jesuit periodical Dr. Palmer finds the best survey of French literature between 1701 and 1762.

There is little or nothing in the 150,000 pages of the *Journal* to suggest censorship or bias against the new "science" and its enthusiastic champions. Like a dozen similar Jesuit publications of today the *Journal* is intransigent on the one point of Catholic orthodoxy. But in all the vast field of free human inquiry it shows remarkable tolerance and understanding. This will, of course, surprise the student who knows the "Enlightenment" only from the writings of the "Philosophers." Too many have sympathized with the struggle of the Encyclopedists against "darkness" and ignorance. It is good to know that not all the brains were on the side of the enemies of religion. If the long battle seemed unequal, it was merely the inequality of the man in a clean shirt wrestling with an unwashed ruffian. Or to change the figure, it was easier to bespatter a wall with mud than it was to remove the stains and restore its whiteness. Catholic writers had to uphold revealed and rational truth; the Rationalists and cynics could write anything.

The attack upon the Church in France came from apostate Catholics whose childhood faith had gone sour. It came also from the dour Jansenists, who insisted that they were more Catholic than the pope. The Jesuits are found steering a middle course between Jansenist rigorism and the sentimentality of Rousseau. There may be something in the contention that the heroic period of the Society had passed. But the Society was still in the forefront of the battle for the Church. There was high honor in its defeat. And the best defense of the Society's repu-



tation is the character of its enemies. The Jesuits were hated by those who hated Christ and His Church. "Unfriendly critics of the Jesuits," says Dr. Palmer in the book reviewed below, "are very little to be trusted." The Society of Jesus can afford to be modest in accepting the implied compliment. She can draw no little quattro-centennial consolation from the fact that she has had such critics.

### *For Freshman History*

We assume that college freshmen will take a minimum of six hours of history; that this introductory course should cover the whole of European civilization; that no text book now on the market is perfectly satisfactory; that freshmen should learn to use the school library; that under present conditions an outline hand book is the answer to many an instructor's prayer. And we think we can promise a usable hand book for the beginning of the next academic year.

Six hours is, of course, all too short a time for Junior College history even in our overcrowded curricula. It would be better to have more. We can never accept less. The student of the Old Régime with no formal history was not considered ignorant. In his "liberal education" he got a smattering of edifying anecdotes by way of incidental *eruditio* in his language classes. Now, he has to have a "gentleman's knowledge" of the natural sciences and an introduction, at least, to the long past out of which this feverish world came. For those who major in history there is, naturally, no problem. But every educated man should have a framework into which he can fit events and movements in their proper time and place relations, a sort of elementary chart which will assure him some perspective in his reflections on the follies and failures, the triumphs and achievements of other men. If he graduates without this minimum of history, his education is defective.

The whole of European civilization should be covered. Not so long ago, the popular introductory course was limited to a survey of the modern world. To meet a demand, and partly to create it, there was the magnificent two-volume text of Carlton Hayes. But all the warnings of author or teacher availed little to preclude the inevitable notion on the part of the student that before 1500 nothing really mattered much. What this meant for the oldest and most vital institution in our civilization is, we hope, clear enough. The Neo-pagan would have it so; the believing Protestant could approve with some misgivings; the Catholic should repudiate the idea utterly. His heritage is the whole Christian era. It is more; it is as old as God's dealings with mankind. Still, we are aware that motives are open to suspicion when our evolutionist writers insist upon going back to a pre-historic wiggle-in-the-mud. And we cannot trust them there alone. We should be able to go with them. This belongs, however, to our third point. What we here insist upon is that 1500 is a very late date in our calendar, and that overemphasis of the whirling modern world violates our sense of proportion.

No text book now available can be approved without

serious reservations. With a backhand slap at one or two of the positively vicious sort we may commend the erudition, the pedagogical correctness and the spirit of fairness which are becoming more and more manifest in the mounting mass of college texts. The now antiquated anti-Catholic tone has been eliminated, thanks to the professional pride or the religious indifference of authors, or perhaps to the desire on the part of publishers to sell their books. But a more insidious poison has crept in. Call it secularism, agnosticism or plain paganism, there is a tendency to picture life on the low flats of non-religion.

The word seems to have gotten around that it is bigotted to slander the clergy, but broadminded to ignore God altogether. Divine Providence, the Incarnation and even the creation are deemed of no concern to the historian. Progress, Evolution, Science (without their quotes) have been evoked by misty minds from the great void, and in their turn assume creative powers to produce the universe out of nothingness. The author is sometimes better than his book, and he is sometimes worse. But the impression left on the student, if he reads the text at all, is that somehow the world can be explained without God. If so, we have an "autonomous world," and one may, quite logically, repudiate faith, reason and common sense. Frankly, the opening chapter in more than one college history text is positively dangerous. Authors consider their few facts a sufficient basis for their reckless guessing, and students are likely to equate categorical statement with truth. The rocky road to truth in the field of archeology should not be traveled under the guidance of a Rationalist. But this is only one example of what we cannot like in some of our newer text books. Another might be the rather frequent Gibbonesque treatment of early Christianity. Authors want to appear scientific, and publishers want to please, and text books are improving. But we still have a problem to solve.

While we await the appearance of the flawless text book a solution is at hand in a manual prepared by Father W. Eugene Shiels of Loyola University, Chicago. The manual is a guide to further study. Used in conjunction with class lectures and discussions, it will stimulate curiosity, force the student to read a number of books and aid him in making the proper selection. Some of us find it hard to exact a fair amount of library work over and above a complete knowledge of a bulky text book. With the manual the student will have to consult four or five authors before each weekly discussion or quiz, and a minimum of reading can be demanded. Moreover, on the library shelf a book loses that presumptive infallibility which it seems to claim as a text; it may be unsuitable in the class room, and yet provide excellent collateral reading. A final point in favor of the manual, we are recommending, is that it is less expensive. If part of the saving is taken in the form of a freshman library fee, a reserve section may be built up in a very short time. We are trying to promote the adoption of a manual which will not be ready for distribution until next summer. This editorial is an act of faith in the ability of Father Shiels to round out a project now well under way.



# Padre Ravalli: Versatile Missionary

Helen Addison Howard

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THE many talents of Leonardo da Vinci find a striking if remote analogy in the creative abilities and mechanical inventions of Father Anthony Ravalli, an obscure Italian Jesuit who labored in the Bitter Root valley of western Montana. Had he lived, like da Vinci, among cultural surroundings and intellectual equals, today he might be considered, in some sense, a successor to his illustrious countryman. Father Ravalli lived his life in the very wilderness itself where the primeval struggle for existence left no leisure for the creation and enjoyment of art. Yet his genius proved resourceful in all needs, for he made nearly every instrument and article necessary to the rites and ceremonies of the Church with his own hands and with the crude tools at his disposal. Not only did he fashion things, but in some cases he had first to make the tools in order to make the articles.

Father Ravalli arrived at St. Mary's Mission, Montana, in the mid-summer of 1845. This mission had been established in 1841 by Father DeSmet in the Bitter Root valley, of western Montana, the ancestral home of the Flathead Indians<sup>1</sup> who called their land "Spetle-men," or Place of the Bitter Root. On September 24, feast of Our Lady of Mercy, the missionaries had arrived at the chosen location, about thirty miles south of the present site of Missoula, where the town of Stevensville now stands. To commemorate the Blessed Virgin, Father DeSmet named the mission St. Mary's. He also called the valley, the river, and a rugged peak in the Bitter Root mountains to the west in honor of her. Only the peak and the church retain their original designation.

With Father Ravalli's arrival at St. Mary's, many changes for the well-being of the missionaries took place. An Irish merchant in Antwerp had given him a set of buhrstones which he transported by pack horse to the Bitter Root from Fort Colville, three hundred miles away. With the assistance of two lay brothers and a French-Canadian, Father Ravalli constructed and operated a grist mill, the first in Montana, by water power from the river. Although the mill turned out flour of a good quality, the supply was insufficient for the community needs. Yet it supplied a most desired addition to the missionaries' food, which, previous to the operation of the mill, consisted, like the Indians' menu, of dried buffalo meat, other game, fish, tallow, roots and berries, supplemented by vegetables from the Jesuits' garden.<sup>2</sup>

Encouraged by the success of his grist mill Father Ravalli next contrived a primitive sawmill. Aided by his superior, Father Mengarini, he welded together four wagon tires and formed them into a crank to work the saw. He flattened a fifth tire, hardened it to a blade by hammering, toothed it with a chisel and file and utilized

it for the saw. He even invented a small still to extract alcohol from the camas root for medicinal purposes.

The necessity for these inventions was absolute as the missionaries were isolated from the civilized world. The Jesuits received their mail only once a year and replenished their provisions annually by sending Indian messengers 800 miles on horseback and by canoe to Fort Vancouver. These messengers were always in danger of being robbed and scalped by hostile tribes along the Columbia river, so the safe arrival of supplies was not an habitual occurrence. Nor was the Indian menace less at the mission, for the Flatheads' enemies, the Blackfeet and the Bannocks, lurked in the vicinity awaiting a chance to claim a Flathead scalp, or to run off ponies or snipe a Black Robe.

Despite the dangers the cultured Father Ravalli grew to love "dear old St. Mary's," as he was wont to refer to it. The missionary life with its hardships and deprivations was his voluntary choice. Born at Ferrara, Italy, on May 16, 1812, he entered the Society of Jesus at fifteen and prepared for his chosen work in the missionary field by studying medicine and surgery, and learning how to handle the artist's brush, the sculptor's chisel and the mechanic's tools, in addition to the prescribed courses in theology, belles-lettres, philosophy, mathematics and the natural sciences. Then until the opportunity came for him to go to America, he taught in Turin and other parts of Italy, taking his final vows, April 21, 1844, while en route to the Northwest.

Five years after Father Ravalli's coming the smooth course of the missionaries' efforts was considerably disturbed. The Indians had become sullen and would no longer heed the counsels of their spiritual advisors. They refused to work and to attend Mass. Father Palladino in his volume, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, offers several reasons for this. A party of immigrants bound for Oregon had spent the winter of 1849-50 in the vicinity of the mission. As their morals were on a much lower plane than those of the Indians, they were criticized by the Jesuits. In retaliation the immigrants stirred up discontent among some of the Flatheads, and since there was no organized law, no army posts, nor even a permanent white settlement in the region, they committed whatever slander and mischief they pleased. The distribution of supplies, too, furnished a contributory cause to the Indians' dissatisfaction. Father DeSmet had been unwisely generous in sharing the stores of the mission with them, and Father Mengarini found it expedient to be more economical since the immigrants were also sharing the missionaries' food.

These conditions, and the fact that the majority of the Indians used to migrate twice a year east of the mountains to spend weeks on the buffalo hunt, leaving the mission unprotected and at the mercy of marauding bands of Blackfeet, caused Father Mengarini to journey to St. Xavier's on the Willamette in the spring of 1850 to explain the situation to Father Joset, the new General

<sup>1</sup> Several delegations of Iroquois, Flathead and Nez Percé Indians had journeyed to St. Louis as early as 1831 to locate the "Black Robes"—they in the black gown who carried a Book and spoke to the Great Spirit, but never married.

<sup>2</sup> Father DeSmet had taught the Indians to cultivate the land and to raise a crop of wheat, oats, and potatoes. Later he added corn, peas, beans, turnips, carrots, greens and onions.



Superior of the Missions. The decision was to close St. Mary's and this was done forthwith, the improvements being sold to Major John Owen, a trader.

The missionaries were then reassigned, Father Ravalli going to the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alène Indians in what is now northern Idaho. He next spent some time at Colville, and in 1860 was transferred to Santa Clara. He preferred the Northwest, however, and in 1863 he was again back, assigned to St. Ignatius mission in Montana. The next year he was stationed at St. Peter's among the Blackfeet where his medical skill enabled him to relieve the sufferings of many a frost-bitten prospector during the gold stampede into the Sun River country.

While at Colville an incident happened which won for Father Ravalli the reputation of being the greatest medicine man the Indians had ever seen. The information came to him that one of his charges, an Indian woman, had had trouble with her husband, and sinking into despair had hanged herself. The Jesuit, guided by his informant, hurried to the place and found the body of the woman hanging by a lariat from the limb of a tree. He cut the rope and laid the body on the ground. Removing the noose he examined the woman's neck and found it to be unbroken. A further examination disclosed that her heart and pulse had stopped beating, or at least the beating was too faint to be detected. Since her body was still warm, Father Ravalli hoped that he might revive her. He began to breathe into her mouth and started artificial respiration by raising and lowering her arms. In three-quarters of an hour he noticed the unmistakable pink glow of life returning to her face. He continued to work and finally she began to breathe intermittently. When her respiration grew stronger she opened her eyes, to the astonishment of the incredulous Indians who had thought the Jesuit's actions very foolish. In a short time the squaw got to her feet and returned to the lodge of her husband. Many were the tales told later by the Indians around the camp fires of how their Black Robe had breathed life into the dead, and did she not live many, many snows afterward?

Upon Father Giorda's appointment as Superior of the Missions, he reopened St. Mary's in 1866, sixteen years after its closing. Choosing it for his headquarters, he recalled Father Ravalli from Hell Gate,<sup>3</sup> where he had been temporarily stationed. With much rejoicing the Indians again received the Blackrobes. The church had to be restored, but the repentant Flatheads were more than willing to give their services and the work was begun in September. Though never in permanent charge of the mission, Father Ravalli is remembered with greater affection by Indians and whites than any other Jesuit stationed there.

Gold had been discovered in western Montana several years previous to the opening of the mission. With the influx of settlers and prospectors, sickness and accidents became more frequent. Father Ravalli in boots and a long overcoat, with a breviary in his pocket, medicines and surgical instruments in his saddle-bags, became a

familiar and a welcome figure riding his Indian pony around the country through the winter snows and the summer heat, to minister to the spiritual needs of the dying, and to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick, the wounded and the injured. More than one old settler lived to a ripe age as a result of the missionary's successful amputations.

Father Ravalli lived behind the sacristy in two small rooms connected with the church by a hallway. The ceiling was low, the floor uneven and covered with a thin carpet in the bedroom. In his living-room he constructed a large desk containing innumerable pigeon-holes, cupboards and drawers, with book shelves above built as a single unit that reached to the ceiling. At one side of the room stood his old heating stove, and in another corner his bed, the head and footboards of which he made from wood and stained. The mattress and springs that he used were four or five planks! In this tiny, shabby room and on this hard bed Father Ravalli lay in unmitigated but patient suffering for four years, the penalty for exposing himself that he might restore others to health.

The next room, his kitchen, had a stove in the center. Extending between two beams on either side of the pipe were two wooden hooks which once supported his two guns, as it was necessary to keep them in a warm place to prevent the powder from becoming damp. Father Ravalli's kitchen table, an original invention of his, could be converted into an artist's easel by the simple motion of tilting the top to a vertical position and fastening it with a hook to the center support.

He made the agricultural implements, the scythe and the grain cradle, that were used to harvest the mission crops. Other relics of his handiwork are a leather-covered, brass-bound trunk, kitchen cupboards, and a medicine chest, a small, wooden box, eighteen inches long, perhaps, and twelve inches deep, which still contains remnants of medicine, pills and castor oil. His surgical instruments, now missing, were kept in a drawer at the bottom. A candle dip, brass torches formerly used by the Indians in their religious ceremonies, handmade nails, a large oil painting of the Blessed Virgin, straight chairs and a rocker fastened with wooden pegs and wax, and a cabinet joiner's tool are other examples of the amazing Father Ravalli's artistic and mechanical abilities. Many pioneer farm homes in the Bitter Root valley are still using furniture made by him.

Father Ravalli designed and built the altar in the church and even planned and executed the color scheme, remarkable for the harmony of its many colors and shades. Standing on the altar is an almost life-size effigy of St. Ignatius, carved from wood by the versatile missionary. The statue wears a black cassock made of deerhide and gracefully holds in the hands an old book printed in Latin.

The Indians used to sit cross-legged on the floor, so the church had no pews until the whites became regular attendants after the reopening of the mission. Father Ravalli then built a balcony and installed chairs of his own make. The old log cabin just north of the mission was built and used by him as the first apothecary shop in Montana.

For forty years Father Ravalli labored in the Rocky

<sup>3</sup> A trading post established in 1860 at the mouth of the Bitter Root valley, near the present site of Missoula, Montana.



Mountains without once revisiting his native country. That deep in his heart he still cherished an affectionate memory of his old home is evidenced in his reply to Mrs. Gibson, wife of the commanding officer of Fort Missoula. She asked him if he ever felt the desire to return to Italy.

"Yes," said he, "and I could have had that pleasure. But then, the sacrifice would not have been complete." And lowering his head over his breast, he wept and sobbed like a child.

It was this self-sacrificing spirit that shortened his life, for his last illness was caused by exposure in the winter of 1880, when he was caring for a miner who had been severely frozen. While returning to the mission sickness overtook him. For two months he was given tender care at the Foley ranch near Missoula before he had recovered sufficiently to continue to "dear old St. Mary's." He never regained his strength, yet confined to his bed during the greater part of the last four years of his life, his resourcefulness did not fail him. He had a cot constructed in a canvas-covered wagon drawn by horses, so that he could be driven on visits to the St. Ignatius mission or wherever his presence was required.

Even on his own bed of pain, no effort was too strenuous for him to relieve human suffering, and he still continued to care for the sick. On one occasion a Mrs. Lancaster, wife of a rancher in the valley, became ill and a member of the family came to Father Ravalli to describe her symptoms. He prescribed some medicine, but the lady showed no improvement. Twice again on successive days he prescribed, but as she did not improve he had himself carried on a stretcher to his wagon and driven the eight miles to the Lancaster ranch. From his stretcher

he observed the patient's symptoms and diagnosed her case. He was then able to prescribe the correct medicine and she soon recovered.

But himself he could not cure. He died on the Feast of the Holy Angels, October 2, 1884, at the age of seventy-two. For fifty years he had been a Jesuit, devoting forty years of his life to missionary work in the Northwest. The American flag at Stevensville remained at half-mast for nearly a month in token of the esteem that all residents of the Bitter Root valley held for him. In accordance with his request his remains were laid to rest in St. Mary's cemetery among the Indians with whom he had lived and labored in life.

St. Mary's remained a mission for fifty years, being closed on the anniversary of its half-century of existence in 1891, after the removal of the last of the Flathead Indians to the Jocko reservation. It is still used as a Catholic church, and is a prominent historical landmark in the valley.

A monument in the form of a marble shaft was placed on Father Ravalli's grave years ago. Ravalli County, comprising the Bitter Root valley and the scene of his labors, was named in his honor as is also a station on the Northern Pacific railway. In recent years the Anaconda Copper Mining Company donated a bronze tablet set on a cobblestone pedestal before the church to commemorate the mission and the pioneer missionary, the healer of souls and bodies.

NOTE: The material was collected in scraps from newspaper clippings in the Missoula Public Library, from general histories, and from personal interviews with pioneers who knew Father Ravalli. Father Palladino, S. J., in *Indian and White in the Northwest* devotes part of a chapter to him.

## Libraries, Archives, Museums

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LIBRARIES and archives are the historian's chief reliance in his tasks of research. The day is past when the materials, especially manuscript, for history have to be secured as personal property by the historian himself as was done at great expense by such scholars of means as Bancroft and Prescott. Bancroft is said to have incurred an outlay of over seventy thousand dollars in obtaining the books and transcripts of documents which he needed for his history. Doubtless it is an advantage for the worker in history to have personal copies of the books and documents he utilizes in research, especially if resort to them must be frequent. Every craftsman in the field ambitions a private library of his own, however modest in dimensions. But merely private or personal libraries, however extensive, seldom meet all the needs of investigation; one has almost invariably to seek needed material in the large-scale public and institutional collections of printed and manuscript sources organized and maintained chiefly in the interests of students and scholars. That such collections are as a rule now easily accessible is an advantage which the historians of two or three generations ago did not enjoy, certainly not to the same degree that it is enjoyed by their successors of today.

### Libraries

Libraries,<sup>1</sup> considered here as depositories of historical source-material, are often individualized by exceptional resources in some or other specific line of research. For medieval and renaissance history and papal history of all ages, the Vatican Library is unsurpassed. The National Library, Paris, is one of the world's great storehouses of medieval material; it is notably rich in other directions also. All the broader divisions of the historical field are fully represented in the British Museum; its collections of medieval manuscripts are outstanding. In the United States the Library of Congress ranks first in range and quality of unpublished material bearing on American history, while its increasing accumulation of photostats and microfilms of documents from Paris, Seville, and other archival centers will eventually make it practically unnecessary for searchers in the field named to travel abroad. The Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, and the Huntington Library, San Marino, Cali-

<sup>1</sup>Margaret Hutchins, Alice S. Johnson and Margaret S. Williams, *Guide to the use of libraries: a manual for college and university students* (4th ed., New York, 1929); Eric John Dingwall, *How to use a large library* (Cambridge, Eng., 1933); William T. O'Rourke, *Library handbook for Catholic students* (New York, 1935).



fornia, contain treasures in Americana of the colonial period. The Gage, Germain, Clinton, and allied papers assembled in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, make this a research center of the first importance for students of the American Revolution. The Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, is noteworthy for material on Indian ethnology, frontier Americana and Hispano-Americana. The collection of papers on the western fur trade in the Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, is the richest existing on this subject. At Notre Dame University is an extensive collection of original letters illustrating the early history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Obviously, what library or libraries to use depends on whether or not they contain material pertinent to one's topic of research. On this point it may not always be easy to obtain satisfactory information. If the library be within convenient reach, it will be possible to visit it and so ascertain by inquiry or examination of its catalog, if this be complete, what help it has to offer. Further, there will be the possibility of consultation with directors, professors, workers in the same field as one's own. When libraries are at a distance, there are various ways of learning their resources in the material needed. A request for information can be addressed to the librarian, or one may consult with persons acquainted with its contents or find at hand printed catalogues or lists of books on special subjects issued by the library. Sometimes such preliminary inquiries reveal the existence of material in various and widely scattered localities, in which case it may become necessary to travel if no other practicable way of reaching the material can be found. The bibliographies available in monographs and more elaborate learned works are sometimes a revelation in their mention of the surprisingly large number of libraries and archives, far and near, which the authors found it necessary to draw upon for data.

How to use a library is an art every student in history must become practised in if he is to economize time and labor. The art regards chiefly use of the catalogue. This may sometimes have its intricacies, but the broad features of the system employed, whether Dewey decimal, Library of Congress, or any other, can and should be understood, if one is to get the best results in use of the catalogue with intelligence and dispatch. Unless this be done, not only will valuable time be frittered away in fruitless turning over of catalogue cards or slips, but helpful material may be overlooked through failure to appreciate the uses of author, title, subject, cross-reference and other types of cards.

The device of the inter-library loan has become common in the United States. By this means the student can obtain from a distance books, sometimes rare ones, not available in local libraries. Sometimes, as in the Library of Congress, the privilege extends to photostats, microfilms, typescripts and written transcripts. Again, patrons of libraries are sometimes allowed access to the stacks ordinarily closed to use. The advantages of such a privilege in the way of preparing a bibliography, surveying the resources of the library on a certain topic or familiarizing one's self with the individual books are manifest. As much may be accomplished in a few hours of work

among the stacks as could be accomplished in as many days if the books have to be called for individually and consulted in the reading room.

### Archives

The term "archive" is not an easy one to define with anything like precision. In the opinion of Worthington C. Ford, "an archive cannot be defined in sufficiently precise terms to make it worth while." But a working definition must be found. "Primarily, according to modern ideas, archives are the proper place of deposit for documents preserved for administrative purposes, relating to any department of national or other public affairs."<sup>2</sup> This definition, good as far as it goes, omits an item which any adequate definition of an archive should apparently include, namely, the qualification that the documents preserved, owing to their back dates or for other reasons, are not needed in the actual administration of the office they belong to. The term "archive" suggests in ordinary usage something old and out of date; it connotes non-current records or material. It is not the term to apply to a depository for papers actually needed in the conduct of a business. We may, accordingly, define an archive as a *depository for papers that have accumulated in the routine administration of an office, public or private, and are no longer needed for current business.*

It is to be noted of this definition that it limits the term defined to a place of deposit of papers of a specific kind, namely, such as originate in some or other governmental or administrative office. A depository for manuscript material is not necessarily an archive. The distinction is seen in the use of the term as applied to the great archival depositories of the world, e. g., the Vatican Archives, the National Archives, Paris, the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, the National Archives, Washington. The function of the Public Record Office, London, is sufficiently indicated by its name. All the great collections named are limited more or less to administrative or official papers emanating from their respective governments. On the other hand, the great national libraries generally have two departments, one of printed material, the other of manuscripts not having place in the category of state papers. This is the case with the Vatican Library, the National Library, Rome, the National Library, Paris, the British Museum, the Library of Congress. One goes to the Vatican Library, e. g., for medieval manuscripts of the classics or treatises in theology, to the Vatican Archives for the correspondence of papal nuncios. Similarly, in London the state papers of Henry VIII will be found in the Public Record Office, the great collections of miscellaneous private papers known as the Harleian and the Cottonian, in the Manuscript Division of the British Museum. So also, in Washington one finds the old business papers of the Indian Office in the National Archives; the personal papers of deceased presidents of the United States in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

It is not practicable to offer here directions on the use of archives. Existing government archives differ from

<sup>2</sup> Julian P. Gilson, *Students' guide to the manuscripts of the British Museum* [Helps for students of history, v. 31, London, 1920], 8.



one another in arrangement, cataloging, methods of administration, rules for patrons. Actual experience in the use of a particular archive is the only real solution of the difficulties a student may expect to meet with who resorts to it for research. A few visits will be enough to make him familiar with its physical layout and the regulations governing the use of material. Government archives in Europe and America are open, as a rule, from five to seven hours daily. Students traveling a great distance to do research are sometimes annoyed to find themselves thus restricted in the use of an archive to this limited time. But custom has fixed the relatively short working-hours in public archives and, in any case, they are in all probability not too short for the average patron. Moreover, there are ways of utilizing one's time outside the archives, e. g., in arranging, correcting, studying notes or transcripts, in sight-seeing or other occupations or diversions.

### Museums

Museums,<sup>3</sup> as far as they concern the historian, are mainly storehouses of that important class of material for his purpose which is generally classed under the rubric, "historical remains" or "historical relics." Written sources are the historian's main reliance in his searchings; but he cannot neglect the important evidence to be found in physically surviving objects from the cultures and civilizations of other days. Only with these objects before one does first-hand, accurate knowledge of numerous aspects of the economic and cultural life of the past come within reach. Here one does not have to recur to the "historical imagination" to realize the past. The household furniture and agricultural implements in the Egyptian Museum, Turin; the thousands of well-preserved articles from Pompeii in the National Museum, Naples; the splendid collections of Greek vases in the Louvre and the British Museum; the medieval antiquities in the Deutsches Museum, Nuremberg, and the Cluny Museum, Paris; the period specimens of the industrial and fine arts in the Victoria-Albert Museum, London, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York—things such as these help the historian to visualize past reality and portray it to the life. Many of the state and local historical societies of the United States maintain museums of the strictly historical type which have their utility for special lines of research. The rare documents of historical interest sometimes on display in museums can be especially intriguing and yield not only information but emotional thrill. A student of history surely gets something from standing at close quarters in the British Museum with Magna Carta or with the historic bull of Innocent III accepting England as a papal fief, or in the Public Record Office, London, with the celebrated confidential letter informing Lord Mounteagle of the Gunpowder Plot. It may be added that one of the five extant copies of Magna Carta was on display at the New York World's Fair, whence it has been transferred, also for temporary display, to the Library of Congress.

<sup>3</sup> The volumes in the series, *History of American Life*, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox list museum material bearing on their contents.

## The History Club

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IN OUR frantic effort to prepare students for examinations we are apt to forget the *aim* and *value* of our teaching of history. We too often regard the examination as the *be-all* and *end-all* of our teaching with the result that we blunder fatally and stupidly. We fail to educate the students and to make better citizens of them. We inflict irreparable harm upon them, and we produce a positive dislike, in many, for the subject, which when taught by a tolerant, well informed teacher, may do much to correct prejudices and train for better living. Professor Henry Johnson tells us one of the aims of history is:

to enrich the humanity of the pupil, enlarge his vision, incline him to charitable views of his neighbor, and give him a love of truth, make him in general, an intelligent, well informed citizen of the world. . . .<sup>1</sup>

But can history be vitalized so that the events of the past live again, and as it were enter into the pupil's own experience? The study of local history is an excellent preparation for the promoting of the pupil's interest in the history of the nation and later of the world. Projects such as writing a history of one of the school organizations, the study of pioneer men and women, who have influenced the growth of the city or community, collecting material for the school archive or for the school museum, are bound to evoke enthusiasm and activity.

Miss Anna O. Allen in *The Bulletin of the Department of Elementary Principals*<sup>2</sup> summarizes the objectives of this novel method of the study of history as follows:

- (1) It enables the student to value facts and to distinguish facts from opinions.
- (2) to proceed to satisfy speculations that may arise in his mind.
- (3) to acquire the spirit of testing authority rather than giving or accepting an opinion.
- (4) to acquire careful training in observation under controlled conditions.
- (5) to realize fully that *activity leading to further activity* is the only sure sign of growth.

A history club, in which students with specialized interest will find the kind of work which they desire and will enjoy, may prove a great help to the teacher of history. The instructor who has the right temperament and capacity for working *with* students, and who will maintain such a club by helpful friendly suggestions, without the appearance of domineering control, will be able to launch such a club with success. An hour a week devoted to the interests of a small group may bring enormous returns both to the student and to the school.

The part played by clubs and similar organizations in the activities of youth is becoming increasingly important. Small children are individualists, but with the increasing years they see the need for "team work," which in its

<sup>1</sup> *The Teaching of History*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> January, 1931.



turn gradually develops into orderly organization for the carrying out of ideas on more serious subjects. In the class room, the student does his work under the close supervision of an adult mind; in the club he finds the added discipline of responsibility for management as well as obedience to *self-imposed* rules. In organizing such a club the thought, "How shall I go about it?" immediately presents itself. It might be well for the one who intends to start such a movement first of all to define the word *CLUB*. According to the *Standard Dictionary* we find the word means "An organization of persons, who meet for social intercourse or for any other common object, the members of which are usually *limited* in number, etc." This brings us to the thought of holding the membership down to small numbers. The first announcement of the plan to organize such a club should state definitely the membership limit, the date and the place of the first meeting. The moderator of the club should "take the chair" at the first meeting, ask all present to "please come to order" and when all is quiet explain that the purpose of the club is to create an interest in history in general, but in particular to create an interest in the history of the community, the history of the school, in the particular phase of history for which the club has been organized.

Ordinarily the charter members will generously move that the moderator retain the chairmanship during the first meeting. But by asking that a temporary chairman be appointed by them he is, from the outset, placing the management of the club in their hands, and they will from the start be impressed with the idea of their own initiative. Then follows the election of officers—a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. As soon as the officers have been installed the new president suggests that a motion be made for a committee's appointment, the duty of which will be to prepare a set of rules (Constitution and By-Laws) for the new club. The president stresses the fact that this set of rules is to be drawn up with the *advice of the moderator*, and is to be presented at the next meeting for the approval of the members. The members of the club are always interested in passing on the rules for their own organization.

When the constitution and by-laws are presented a carefully *typed* copy should be given to the presiding officers. At the next meeting the chairman of the committee reads the document, after which he "moves the adoption of the constitution as read." The motion being recorded, the presiding officer repeats the motion and then asks the chairman to read the first article again. He reads the sections of the articles one at a time and then goes back and re-reads them, section by section, allowing time for discussion and amendment before the final vote is taken. When the constitution has been adopted the by-laws are taken up in the same way, and passed upon. This may take one or two meetings. But it is well worth the time spent upon it for "order is Heaven's first law" and all the future business of the club will be managed by these rules. For a small club, and a history club should be small, the following will be found to cover the essential points: the name of the club; its purpose; those eligible to membership; officers of the club (president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, elected annually);

time, place and frequency of meetings; dues; order of business.

Although it may not be necessary for a club to adopt a regular order of business, experience has proved that the following of a regular business procedure saves time and trains the student for life. For suggestions as to the formulating of "Workable Rules of Order" it might be helpful to secure a copy of *Club Making and Management* by Renée B. Stearn (published by the Rand-McNally Company, 1927).

The name of the club, like its motto, should be carefully chosen with reference to the general purpose of the organization of the club. In Denver, Colorado, the students at St. Mary's Academy chose to name their history club, *The Machebeuf History Club*. The reason for their choice was that they had organized their club for the purpose of studying intensively "Church History in Colorado." It was fitting, therefore, that they take for their name the name of Colorado's first bishop, and for their motto the motto of this same bishop, *Auspice Maria*.

No member should be permitted to join the club unless he has maintained a high scholastic record in history work. No member should be received into the club who has not proved by completing some active research problem that he is qualified for membership. In this way only those who are vitally interested in the club will be admitted. No credit should be given for the work. It should be entirely voluntary and optional. An outline of the work to be done each year should be carefully planned by the moderator and the new president, and announced to the members of the club by the presiding officer at the first annual meeting. A typed copy of this outline should be placed on a prominent bulletin board in the school corridor, to keep the interest of the student body alive to the organization. The moderator must be very conversant with sources, pioneer folk and old newspaper files for example, in order to be able to guide the "budding research workers," but in no case must the moderator do the work for the members.

Once the club has been organized and the members have set enthusiastically to work it will be interesting to see the club grow and thrive until the moderator will be faced with the problems of securing club pins, club stationery, steel files, file folders for material gathered, index cards for the indexing of this material, museum cases, honorary members. Even a publicity manager will be a necessity; and the school authorities will be convinced that history *can be vitalized*.

## Integral French Nationalism

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That seems to be a moderate statement of the excesses to which Maurras carried integral nationalism. Nationalism for him became not only a blind cult of his nation but an unreasoning hatred of all others; it became a religion worshipping a deified State and using all else as means to further its cult. Although the condemnation of the *Action française* caused it to lose much prestige, the movement had made men conscious that for a Frenchman France should occupy the topmost place among his values.



## Integral French Nationalism

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adopted as their own. Too many Frenchmen had only an administrative patriotism; what they needed was a patriotism of the soil, of the hearth, of the commune and of the province. Once conscious of these, of the "real France," they would be better Frenchmen and ardent nationalists. By making use of this regionalism the nationalists were able to convert to their own advantage a force which had formerly worked against national unity in favor of localism.

The man who, more than any other, synthesized these various nationalistic elements of France into a unified doctrine was Maurice Barrès. Barrès was eight years old when the German troops occupied his home town of Charmes in Lorraine. Hence he felt a certain superiority among those who talked of revenge. As a young man in Paris he took it upon himself to urge his compatriots to their task of restoring France's lost honor by victory over Germany. He joined the League of Patriots and adhered to the Boulangist movement; when the latter failed he applied himself to the task of supplying nationalists with a doctrine, the lack of which, he believed, caused Boulanger's failure.

His first trilogy, *Le cult de moi*, had concerned itself only with the Ego, but in a second trilogy Barrès shifted his emphasis from the first person singular to the first person plural. "Having thought out at great length the idea of the Ego," he says, "I descended among shifting sands until I found, at the bottom, collectivity as a support."<sup>6</sup> And thus he achieved the transformation from the disdainful egoist of *Le cult de moi* to the ardent nationalist of *Le roman de l'énergie nationale*. Pushing this transition to its logical conclusion, Barrès arrived at the cult of nationalism, wherein he conceives of his nation as an expression of himself, so complete and final that the ambitions of the individual must unhesitatingly be sacrificed to it.

Barrès incorporated into his nationalist doctrine all that was at hand,—the burning desire for revenge on Germany, the Boulangist idea of an authoritarian government to effect this revenge, the anti-Semitism, anti-Freemasonry and anti-Protestantism of Drumont, and the regionalism developed by Taine. Each of these he molded to fit his finished doctrine of nationalism, and to them he added his own contributions.

He postulated a "France for Frenchmen," arguing that an outsider could no more become a naturalized Frenchman than he, Barrès, could become a Chinaman. From Taine's determinism Barrès developed a cult of the soil and the tomb, and a worship of national heroes. He also stressed the importance of a single language, the French which had been the glory of his nation for centuries, and of Catholicism, the only religion which could be identified with the French way of life. A sceptic himself, Barrès insisted on the cultivation of Catholicism as a means of strengthening and molding national unity.

<sup>6</sup> This explanation of his "conversion" from egoism to nationalism is given by Barrès in his celebrated reply to René Doumic, who had attacked his *L'Appel au Soldat*. Quoted in William Drake, *Contemporary European Writers*, p. 171, John Day Co.

The *Action française*, which had been organized by Henri Vaugeois and Charles Maurras in 1898, accepted Barrès as a respected master and from him they obtained their charter. At the turn of the century, however, Maurras was replacing Barrès as leader in nationalist circles. Maurras accepted every article of Barrèsian nationalism except that of a dictator, whom he would replace with the traditional French monarch. In typical mathematical fashion Maurras worked out arguments to show that only through a restitution of the monarchy could integral nationalism be achieved. Royalism was complete or integral nationalism because it alone summed up the aspirations of all nationalist groups in France, the various "fractions" of nationalism in the country. The monarchy was traditional, anti-parliamentary and Catholic; it was anti-Semitic and anti-Freemason. Royalism, he therefore concluded, corresponds essentially to the diverse postulates of nationalism; it is itself integral nationalism.

Maurras introduced other of his own ideas into French nationalism. In Nietzschean fashion, he rejected the weak form of "Hebrew" Christianity and adopted the "virile" Catholicism of Rome, a religion to which France was the immediate heir. He pushed the traditionalism of Barrès back into Rome and Athens, insisting that Paris was the Athens of modern times and that French culture has its roots in classical Athens and pagan Rome.

More than any of his predecessors, Maurras preached a nationalism of hatred. He preached hatred against Germany, against Romanticism, against Individualism and Democracy, against aliens and all those who could not, to his way of thinking, be classified as true Frenchmen. He inveighed with equal vehemence against Christ's teaching of humility and against Kant's precepts of duty and individual morality. At the outset of the World War the *Action française* joined heartily in the *union sacrée*; it applauded the adjournment of parliamentary government and the establishment of a virtual military dictatorship. Long before the Armistice it demanded that Germany pay the entire cost of the war, and that the Rhineland be parceled out to French soldiers as pay for their services. It warned the French not to be duped by Wilson's idealism, and insisted that Germany be reduced to the morcelated state it was after the Treaty of Westphalia; it condemned the Treaty of Versailles as too lenient on the offending Germans.

It should be observed that the condemnation of the *Action française*, decreed in 1914 by Pope Pius X but not published till 1926, took no notice of its purely political teaching, though Maurras insisted the pope was acting as a German tool in pressing the condemnation. However, in explaining to Frenchmen the reasons for which the movement was condemned, Archbishop Richard stated that one was "its narrow nationalism which results in the blind cult of the nation, in the negation of all international justice, in a moral philosophy of States which goes far beyond *raisons d'état* . . ."

<sup>7</sup> *Rome et L'Action française: Documents officiels*, p. 7. Éditions de la Vie Catholique, Paris, 1927.

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# Historical Fiction

Josephine Gratiaa  
St. Louis Public Library

In earlier numbers of the BULLETIN guides to historical fiction have been published. These lists, with brief commentary, were compiled by Reverend Alan P. Farrell, S. J. Their popularity and practical utility led to their reproduction in mimeographed form. The list we now offer was prepared by a librarian of long experience and wide acquaintance with books.

The classification is according to periods. Within each period the arrangement is chronological.

Titles marked "x" are by non-Catholic authors.

Titles marked "+" are considered particularly good as stories.

## PRE-CHRISTIAN

- xMiller, E. J. *The yoke*. Jews in Egypt.
- †xWerferl, F. *Hearken to the voice*. Prophet Jeremiah.

## CHRISTIAN

- †xVan Santvoord, S. *Octavia*. Rome under Nero.
- † Albertini, A. *Two years to live*. Roman Christians, 4th century.
- † Jeske-Choinski, T. *Last Romans*. Rome under Theodosius.
- † Le Fort, G. von. *Pope from the Ghetto*. Pope Anacletus II.
- Borden, Mrs. L. P. *Sing to the sun*. St. Francis of Assisi.
- ✓† White, H. C. *Not built with hands*. Gregory VII and Mathilda of Tuscany.
- ✓† White, H. C. *Watch in the night*. Jacopone da Todi.
- Borden, Mrs. L. P. *White hawthorne*. St. Bridgid of Sweden and Joanna of Naples.
- † Carter, B. B. *Ship without sails*. Wanderings of Dante.
- †xScudder, V. P. *Disciple of a saint*. St. Catherine of Sienna.
- xByrne, D. *Messer Marco Polo*. Retold by an Irish poet.
- †xWaddell, H. J. *Peter Abelard*. Paris and the University, 13th century.
- Browne, E. O. *King's evil*. England under Henry I.
- Browne, E. O. *When the saints slept*. Confusion under Stephen.
- Undset, S. *Gunnar's daughter*. Norway, Medieval period.
- † Undset, S. *Kristin Lavransdatter*. Norway, Medieval period.
- † Undset, S. *Master of Hestviken*. Norway, Medieval period.
- Dinnis, E. *Three roses*. England under Henry VI.
- Maude, S. H. *Hermit and the King*. England under Henry VI.
- †xCarleton, P. *Under the hog*. England under Henry VII and Richard III.
- †xGretton, Mrs. M. (S.) *Crumplin*. England under Richard III and Henry VII.
- †xSimpson, E. J. *Crippled splendor*. James I of Scotland.

## RENAISSANCE

- †xHicks Beach, S. E. (C.) *Cardinal of the Medici*. Florence and Rome, Julius II-Leo X.
- †xMerezhkowski, D. S. *Romance of Leonardo da Vinci*. Florence, Milan, and the court of Francis I.
- Brooks, C. S. *Luca Sarto*. Italy and France in the 15th century.
- † White, O. B. *King's good servant*. St. Thomas More.
- Maude, Mrs. S. D. *Princess of tears*. Mary Tudor.
- xBeck, Mrs. L. A. *Duel of the queens*. Queen Elizabeth and Mary Stuart.
- † Baring, M. *Robert Peckham*. Persecutions under Elizabeth.
- Borden, Mrs. L. P. *Starforth*. Persecutions under Elizabeth.
- Blundell, A. *Ancient lights*. Persecutions under Elizabeth.
- † Paterson, I. *Fourth queen*. Elizabeth in her old age.
- † Smith, S. K. *Superstition corner*. Persecutions under Elizabeth.
- †xGoudge, E. *Towers in the mist*. Oxford during Elizabeth's reign.
- Paravicini, F. de. *Do we remember?* Oxford during Elizabeth's persecutions.
- †xHewlett, M. *Queen's quair*. Mary Stuart.
- Chambrun, C. L. *Comtesse de. My Shakespeare rise*. Elizabethan theatre.
- ✓ Chambrun, C. L. *Comtesse de. Two loves I have*. Shakespeare.
- Garrod, R. P. *The man's hands*. Father Robert Southwell.
- † Walsh, M. *Blackcock's feather*. Ireland. Elizabeth.

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- xJones, H. B. *King's passport*. France; Louis XIII.
- † Laretto, E. *Glory of Don Ramiro*. Spain and America during discoveries.

- †xIrwin, M. *Royal flush*. France and England, Louis XIV and Charles II.
- †xIrwin, M. *Proud servant*. Scotland—Montrose.
- † Walsh, M. *Dark rose*. Scotland—Montrose.
- †xHeyer, G. *Royal escape*. Charles II as fugitive.
- Blundell, A. *Living voice*. Catholics under Charles II.
- † Smith, S. K. *Gallybird*. Catholics under Charles II.
- xCarr, J. D. *Murder of Sir Edmund Godfrey*. Gunpowder Plot treated as a mystery story.
- Harrison, F. M. *Duel of wits*. Jacobite plots.
- xFarnol, J. *Over the hills*. Jacobite rebellion.
- xFletcher, J. S. *I'd venture all for thee*. Jacobite rebellion.
- MacManus, F. *Candle for the proud*. Ireland: Penal laws.
- MacManus, F. *Stand and give challenge*. Ireland: Penal laws.

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- xDavis, W. S. *Whirlwind*. French Revolution.
- †xGorman, H. S. *Mountain and the Plain*. French Revolution.
- † Le Fort, G. v. *Song at the scaffold*. Study of fear—French Revolution.
- †xMitchell, S. W. *Adventures of François*. French Revolution.
- † O'Riordan, C. *Yet do not grieve*. England and Ireland, under Regency.

## NINETEENTH CENTURY

- †xKomroff, M. *Coronet*. Napoleon in Russia.
- † Seidel, I. *Wish child*. Germany during Napoleonic wars.
- † Grogger, P. *Door in the Grimming*. Austrian-Tyrol during Napoleonic wars.
- †xO'Flaherty, L. *Famine*. Ireland: Potato famine.
- O'Riordan, C. *Soldier's end*. Ireland, England, and U. S., during the 40's and 50's.
- †xYoung, F. B. *They seek a country*. Boers in South Africa.

## TWENTIETH CENTURY

- †xEwart, W. *Way of revelation*. European war, 1914-18.
- †xMontague, C. E. *Rough justice*. European war, 1914-18.
- †xMottram, R. H. *Spanish Farm trilogy*. European war; study of a coward.
- Carty, F. *Irish volunteer*. Sinn Fein Rebellion.
- † Chauvire, R. *Sword in the soul*. Sinn Fein Rebellion.
- McLavery, M. *Call my brother back*. Sinn Fein Rebellion.
- O'Connor, F. *Guests of the nation*. Sinn Fein Rebellion.
- O'Donnell, P. *The knife*. Sinn Fein Rebellion.
- † Reddin, K. *Somewhere to the sea*. Sinn Fein Rebellion.
- † Walsh, M. *Green rushes*. Sinn Fein Rebellion.
- †xWerfel, F. *Forty days of Musa Dag*. Armenians in European War.
- Borden, Mrs. L. P. *Silver trumpets calling*. Russian revolution.
- Gallagher, L. J. *Test of heritage*. Russian revolution.
- xNankiwel, Mrs. J. M. *Fourteen thumbs of St. Peter*. Russian revolution.
- †xOssorgin, M. *Quiet street*. Russian revolution.

## AMERICA

- † Wast, H. *Strength of lovers*. Discovery of De La Platte River, South America.
- Duguid, J. *Father Coldstream*. Jesuits in Paraguay.
- †xForbes, E. *Paradise*. King Philip's war.
- † Stuart, H. L. *Weeping cross*. Indian wars, Connecticut.
- †xRoberts, K. L. *Northwest Passage*. French and Indian War.
- †xStone, G. Z. *Cold journey*. French and Indian War.
- Patterson, F. T. *White wampum*. Catherine Tekawitha.
- †xBoyd, J. *Drums*. Revolution.
- †xEdmonds, W. D. *Drums along the Mohawk*. New York during the Revolution.
- †xRoberts, K. L. *Rabble in arms*. Burgoyne's defeat.
- †xPage, E. *Tree of liberty*. Revolution and Constitutional Period; centers around Thomas Jefferson.
- ✓† Fierro Blanco, A. de. *Journey of the Flame*. California beginnings.
- † Derleth, A. *Wind over Wisconsin*. Black Hawk war.
- Derleth, A. *Restless is the River*. Wisconsin in the 40's.
- xAllen, H. *Action at Aquila*. Civil war.
- †xBoyd, J. *Marching on*. Civil war.
- †xCrane, S. *Red badge of courage*. Civil war; a study of fear.
- xGriswold, F. *Tides of Malvern*. Civil war; Southern viewpoint.
- †xKrey, Mrs. L. L. S. *And tell of time*. Civil war; aftermath in Texas.
- ✓ Mitchell, M. *Gone with the wind*. Civil war; Georgia.
- xPage, T. N. *Red Rock*. Civil war and Reconstruction in Virginia.
- xScott, E. *The wave*. Civil war.
- xStanley, Mrs. C. A. *Order No. 11*. Civil war in Missouri.



## Albert De Mun and Social Catholicism

(Continued from page thirty)

Church and his political opinions. In 1876 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, but the anticlericals, led by Gambetta himself, managed to have his election voted as "invalid," and he was expelled. Returning to his district, he was immediately reelected a month later. This time the anticlericals did not dare refuse him his seat. Nevertheless, in 1878 they again managed to have him expelled, but he turned up again in the Chamber in 1881.<sup>8</sup> The effect of these attacks was to make de Mun one of the most aggressive of the Legitimists. He was thoroughly convinced that Republicanism was inherently anti-Catholic, and that his expulsion from the Chamber was due to his boldly announced intention of defending the Church.

The appearance of Count Albert de Mun in the political arena in 1876 was precisely at the moment when the monarchists had lost their majority in the Chamber. The Count de Chambord, the Legitimist pretender to the throne, had always realized what a political asset the social reform program was. Now de Mun, through his Workingmen's Clubs, had acquired a preeminent position as an exponent of Catholic ideas of social reform. It was in de Mun, then, that the Count de Chambord found his spokesman to the working classes. This fact made de Mun in all sincerity an ardent supporter of Chambord, for he believed that in the latter's restoration lay the hope of the working classes. This connection with monarchism was to hamper his work, but it also brought him into the world of action, clarified his thought on social problems and their relief, and gave his program a practical trend. His social planning tended more and more to a modern type of guild, the principle of association adapted to modern conditions. He even envisaged the extension of the guild idea into the system of political representation, thus foreshadowing the modern corporate state. Finally, as a result of his experience, he realized the need of social legislation as an aid in developing his social reforms.

But the monarchist cause became progressively hopeless. In 1879 the Republicans added the control of the Senate to their control of the Chamber, and even forced the monarchist president, Marshal MacMahon to resign. In 1883 the death of Chambord quite decisively dashed all hopes. Thus, as the monarchist cause passed more and more from the realm of possible achievement, de Mun became less interested in the political restoration of the monarchy, and more and more concerned with the defense of religion and the promotion of the welfare of the people under the existing Third Republic.

### *A Rallié Before the Ralliement (1883-91)*

The period from 1883 to 1891 or 1892 marks a gradual change in de Mun's outlook. He was striking towards a middle course; he remained a "clerical" while ceasing

to be a monarchist, a reformer without being a socialist. His program was becoming more purely social and religious. What is particularly notable about this period is the way he anticipated the social and political *Ralliement* of Leo XIII.<sup>9</sup>

In the field of social reform he easily anticipated most of the immediate program proposed by *Rerum Novarum*.<sup>10</sup> As early as 1872 de Mun had advocated that trade unions and joint associations of capital and labor be promoted; minimum wage legislation was proposed in 1889; social insurance was made part of the Social Catholic program in 1885; restricted hours of labor, even an eight-hour day, had been advocated in 1889; a bill for the exclusion of children under thirteen from industry was presented in 1889. The list could be made much longer. Indeed, the great achievement of *Rerum Novarum* for the Social Catholic Movement was not that it presented new and startling reforms which had never before been advocated, but that the papal seal of approval was put upon the reforms which de Mun and others were already proposing and for which they were being anathematized as "socialists."

In the political sphere de Mun repeatedly attempted to "rally" the Catholic forces into a united front, but without success. In 1885 he proposed that all Catholics subordinate constitutional to religious questions in an attempt to form a Catholic party. It was an attempt to get all Catholic groups, Democrats and Monarchists, to forget their differences and to unite in defense of religion and social justice. Needless to say, the attempt failed. De Mun's loss of interest in monarchist politics was more clearly shown when, in 1889, after the Boulanger fiasco, he refused to enter the monarchist group and tried to dissuade others from doing so. Again and again he made attempts to bridge over the differences of the Catholic groups but never with significant success.

### *Papal Intervention and After (1891-99)*

On May 15, 1891, Leo XIII gave the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* to the world; on February 16, 1892, he issued his famous "Letter to the Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, and All the Catholics of France." The former was an authoritative charter of social reform; the latter was a program of political action for French Catholics. The effect of the first was to put the seal of the Church upon the "socialistic" endeavors of de Mun and his associates; the effect of the latter was to bring to a crisis the secret cause of division among French Catholics. The alliance of so many French Catholics with Monarchism was not only futile; it was becoming fatal to the cause of both religion and social justice, for the clericals by their subversive and anti-Republican activities had given much justification for anticlericalism.

The immediate effect of the encyclicals of 1891 and 1892 was (1) to transfer the allegiance of French Social Catholicism from the nebulous dream of monarchy to the actual Republic, (2) to intensify the factional fight within

<sup>8</sup> The history of de Mun's fortunes at the polls may be thus briefly summed up. He was elected in 1876 but was refused entree into the Chamber as related. He was re-elected until in 1878 his seat was again refused him by the anticlericals. In 1879 de Mun again stood for election, but this time was unsuccessful by a narrow margin, being defeated by the Republican Le Maguet. He was, however, re-elected in 1881 and held his seat until 1893, when he suffered defeat. Nevertheless he was again elected in 1894 and held his seat from this time till his death in 1914.

<sup>9</sup> The term *ralliement* is used in this paper in a slightly wider sense than is usual. In this paper it is meant to cover both the social and the political "rallyings."

<sup>10</sup> See the comparative tables in Moon, *op. cit.*, 163-65.



French Catholicism as a whole. The Social Catholics, led by de Mun, immediately obeyed and accepted the Republic, but, by so doing, the rift between the intransigent Monarchists and the rest of the Catholic camp was greatly widened. This split was to lead to yet more grievous consequences for the French Church.

The position of the still remaining Monarchists was quite clear. They continued to think that the Church belonged to them and their class, and insisted that it was the duty of all good Catholics to unite with them against the anticlerical Republic. Like good Gallicans they sought to ignore or minimize Leo's encyclicals, and they posed as the most extreme champions of liberty and of the traditional privileges of the Catholic Church in France. Many of them were prominent later in the *Action Française*.

The effect of the papal intervention was thus definitely to divorce Monarchism from Social Catholicism. But this split, ultimately to be desired, was for the moment disastrous for the cause of the Church. The arrogant attitude of the Ultra-Monarchists and their championship of the Church as the state religion brought forth a new wave of anticlerical attacks. And, because this group repudiated the social appeal of *Rerum Novarum* along with the political appeal, anticlerical politicians were able to convince the masses that clericalism was opposed not only to the Republic, but to the interests of the working class as well. The election of 1893 was to witness the defeat even of de Mun before the combined attacks of anticlericals and Monarchists. Socialists and bourgeois Republicans were united against the Church and the stage was set for the anticlerical triumph of the Associations Act of 1901 and the Separation Act of 1905.

#### *The Popular Liberal Party*

The story of anticlerical politics which followed the papal intervention cannot be described here. De Mun and his group managed to repair their strength only to have their hopes again defeated. There was an attempted alliance on economic matters with Lafargue and his Socialists, but it was foredoomed. There was the Méline Moderate Government, which advocated social reform and sought the support of the *Ralliés*, but it lasted only from 1896 to 1898. The most important event of the later years of de Mun's career was the foundation of the Popular Liberal Party.

In 1899 a group of Catholic deputies, resentful of Waldeck-Rousseau's aggressively anticlerical policies, formed the Liberal Group, or *Action Libérale*. A triumvirate of de Mun, Jacques Piou, and Baron Amédée Reille formed the nucleus, and about them rallied a large group of Catholics. The party accepted democracy in politics but repudiated Liberalism in economics. It was the fruition of the long years of labor of the Social Catholic leaders and was the success long aimed at,—namely, the adaptation of the Social Catholic program to political democracy.

The program of the party clearly shows the labors of de Mun and his associates. Social reconstruction through the reintegration of trades, industries, and professions into a corporate system, the protection of workers against exploitation through governmental legislation, constitu-

tional reforms in order to make the Republic really democratic and to prevent bourgeois and parliamentary despotism, the protection of the Church and the fostering of religion,—all of these were essential planks in its platform. It was this party which was to carry the banner of Social Catholicism after the death of de Mun and his immediate colleagues. The Popular Liberal Party was the true bequest of nineteenth-century French Social Catholicism to the future.

#### *Last Years*

With his declining years and an increasingly dangerous heart-disease, the personal activities of Albert de Mun were necessarily curtailed. But his life was to witness one last pathetic act of service for his country and his people. With the outbreak of the World War in 1914 he immediately sought any means by which he might be of service to his country. Unable to offer his sword or even his powers of oratory, he could only offer his pen. Although any unusual exertion was a threat to his life, he plunged himself into journalism, and every day a patriotic article appeared over his name in the *Écho de Paris*. Although he knew this activity was killing him, he refused to discontinue, and his work was arrested only by his death during the night of October 6-7, 1914. "Albert de Mun veritably fell on the field of battle, having deliberately and voluntarily sacrificed his life for France." It must be remembered that the family device of the de Muns was *Servir*.

It was Albert de Mun's misfortune that he was never to reap the reward of his labors, and even today we are unable to estimate accurately the full import of his work. He had given his life for the service of his God, his country, and his people as he understood it, and in this light we pay him tribute. No doubt he made many mistakes of policy and of judgment, for it would be strange if he had managed to avoid this human failing completely, but he was fully sincere and always worked for the truth. His fight for the most part was against disheartening odds, and disappointments and failures were usually his reward, but, if he failed all too frequently through no fault of his own, one can trace to his long struggle the upsurging vitality of Catholic Social Action and of French Catholic Youth today. He was a great Frenchman and a true Social Catholic leader.

**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE:** There is very little material on Albert de Mun in English. In English the book to be consulted is Parker T. Moon's excellent *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France* (New York, 1921). This book is on the Social Catholic Movement as a whole, but it treats de Mun *in extenso*. The general indexes of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* give references to some very valuable articles. The various church histories such as MacCaffrey and Lortz-Kaiser give much valuable material about de Mun and his entourage. There are also several English articles in periodicals such as P. W. Browne's "A Modern Crusader," in *The Catholic World*, CXIV (Dec., 1921), 370-80, and R. Corrigan's "Albert de Mun: Revolutionist" in *The Fleur de Lis*, XXXIV (May, 1938), 20-23. In French there are de Mun's own autobiography, *Ma Vocation Sociale* and his various writings, speeches, and debates. There are also two works, A. Saint-Pierre's *Le Comte Albert de Mun*, (Montreal, 1915) and Victor Giraud's *Un Grand Français: Albert de Mun* (Paris, 1918). There are quite a few articles on de Mun in *Le Correspondant* and *Études*. In addition to these mention should also be made of the extensive treatment to be found in Lecanuet's *L'Église de France sous la Troisième République* (4 volumes, Paris, 1931).



## Book Reviews

**Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France**, by R. R. Palmer. Princeton University Press. 1939. pp. 236. \$4.00.

Professor Palmer undertakes to restore a balance. "Everyone has heard of Voltaire and Rousseau," he tells us, but few "could so much as name a conservative thinker" of the eighteenth century. The Age of Enlightenment, he adds, "has been studied chiefly from writings which express only one side of the question." Surely, the author has here an ideal field for scholarly research. Abundant materials are at hand, rich in content and relatively easy to exploit. The period itself has an intrinsic interest. In distorted outline it is sufficiently familiar to most readers. Yet this objective approach to it has enough of novelty to arouse the curiosity of those who, like the author, can still "admire" the *philosophes* or who, like the reviewer, feel a kind of sad contempt for them. Finally, a disillusioned world is more ready now than it was a short time ago to admit with an open mind this criticism of its pet dogmas. This is a contribution to human knowledge that was needed.

However, the reader must not forget that the author writes as an outsider. It is no reflection upon an historian to question his competence in matters involving an understanding of grace and the supernatural. The *philosophes* displayed amazing ignorance when they ventured into theology, as they often did; and the careful historian may with difficulty find his way among the poisoned ruins they have left behind. Professor Palmer is a safer guide than nine-tenths of the writers who do not seem to know what the *philosophes* were fighting against, nor why; but some of his conclusions are hard to follow. He gives the Jesuits, for example, altogether too much credit for being "human" in their moral teaching, "natural" in their theology, and "anthropocentric" in their whole philosophy of life. Still, it is good to have in this dark age a sincere attempt to clarify "nature and grace," revelation, creation, original sin, and kindred topics which were once deemed supremely important.

With the implied qualifications, we recommend this book to historians generally. It is a good specimen of the *audiat et altera pars* attitude. It shows that the Church had able champions in the unequal war of traditional religion against the snipers and mudslingers. It shows, we think, that reason, facts and common sense were not on the side of the Rationalist, who too often resorted to ridicule, abstractions and emotional hocus-pocus. Certainly, credulity was not a monopoly of believers. Nor were believers intolerant, "hasty, self-assured, irritable and doctrinaire" as were the *philosophes*. At a time when good old Catholic philosophy was being corrupted, and too many "modern" Catholics were floundering in the slough of incredulity, the defense of the Church was not neglected. Professor Palmer does his bit to redress a balance.

R. CORRIGAN.

**Mohammed and Charlemagne**, by Henri Pirenne. New York. W. W. Norton & Co. 1939. pp. 293. \$3.50.

The medieval theory for which the late Henri Pirenne is most famous is his Mercantile Settlement Theory of the urban revival in the later Middle Ages. But, if commerce is so fundamental to towns as to be the essential cause of their rise, the decline of the towns should also be explicable in terms of the decline of commerce. M. Pirenne's investigations in this matter have led him to posit what we may call the Islamic theory for the decline of town life in Western Europe. This theory would say that town life was weakened but not destroyed by the barbarian invasions, and that the real destruction of urban life in Western Europe was the direct result of the cutting of the life-line of the Mediterranean by the Moslems in the middle of the eighth century, thus destroying the centuries-old trade of West with East. This destroyed the urban and Mediterranean character of the West and by a series of processes led to the establishment of the civilization which we call "medieval." This is the reason for the title of this book, for Pirenne would say that Charlemagne is the first embodiment of the Middle Ages and "without Mohammed Charlemagne would have been inconceivable" (p. 234). This thesis was first expounded in the *History of Europe* and the first chapter of the *Medieval Cities*; this book seeks to establish it in more detail.

M. Pirenne in proving his thesis faces a problem in chronology. He tries to show that there was still a prominent merchant and urban class in Western Europe prior to the Islamic control of

the Western Mediterranean, and that this merchant and urban class, for all practical purposes, disappeared very soon after the Islamic control of the seas. There are many further ramifications of detail but this seems to be the main task which he sets for himself. A subsidiary argument which particularly strikes the reviewer is the fact that the Carolingian "Renaissance," although it marks a social, political, and religious revival, yet marks a period of economic retrogression. This would seem to indicate some inhibiting influence extraneous to the normal internal development of society, and this influence would seem to be the blocking of trade in the Western Mediterranean by the Moslems.

This work was left in rough manuscript form by M. Pirenne at his death and has been prepared for publication by his son and by another Belgian scholar, M. Vercauteren. The work lacks certain graces of style which are customary in a Pirenne work but stands with a very formidable array of documentation. It is a very worth-while book and one which should be available in the library of every school which values the works and theories of this great medievalist.

R. L. PORTER.

**The Medieval Library**, by James Westfall Thompson. University of Chicago Press. 1939. pp. viii + 682. \$5.00.

"There is always an intimate connection between what men read and what they can know, think, write, and do. Library history is therefore an essential chapter in the history of the intellectual development of civilization. . . . There is not [however], in English or in any other language, a single and comprehensive survey of the history of books and libraries in the period of manuscript. . . . Posterity owes to those who in the past earnestly thought and labored in behalf of learning at least the debt of generous curiosity; this debt I have endeavored to discharge, in part, for myself and for others, by this history of medieval libraries."

These words of the preface adequately express both the need and the value of this most recent work of Professor Thompson. In some twenty-one chapters, eleven by Professor Thompson himself and ten by associates and former students, a more or less continuous history of libraries from early Christian times down to 1500 has been attempted. A considerable amount of erudition and detail has been crammed in between the covers of this book, and it stands as having achieved, for the most part, what it has attempted.

The author himself warns the reader that, due to the extensive and complex nature of the many references made in this book, absolute perfection and freedom from error cannot be hoped for. Yet, although there are a number of minor errors of reference and a few of interpretation, they cannot detract from the real value of this book. The mass of information and learning about the Medieval Library which is here made readily available make this work of decided interest to the medievalist and every student of library history.

B. A. ANDERSEN.

**Casebook in American Business History**, by N. S. B. Gras and H. M. Larson. New York. Crofts. 1939. pp. vi + 765. \$5.00.

These forty-three cases, worked out by the authors and their staff in the Department of Business History at Harvard, give us the first book of its kind on the subject. Beginning with The Virginia Company of 1606, the story of American enterprise is traced through its various stages to the present situation. Cases on Astor, the New York Stock Exchange, and the four secular trends are outstanding; but the entire work attains to a high plane, and no small part of its value lies in copious quotations from source material, both narrative and statistical.

There is a good deal of brilliant historical interpretation in the nexus between groups of cases. Taking the capitalistic tendency as their focal point, the authors divide its history into six periods, each of which is shown to have its own influence upon American business development. In dealing with the background of one of these, Mercantile Capitalism, the practice of the Church in regard to interest is treated, and it is regrettable to find the same sort of misinformation as is to be found in the economic history books of nineteenth century England. The socio-economic teaching of Scholasticism receives more than usual attention, especially in its modern application by the enemies of *laissez-faire* tendencies. The book lacks an index, and in spite



of its narrowly topical arrangement, this fact will detract from its usefulness as a reference book. However, as a text in business history, and as a supplementary text in business administration it will supply a need that has long been felt in undergraduate courses treating of these subjects.

JAMES HANLEY.

**The Story of the Political Philosophers**, by George Catlin. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1939. pp. xviii + 802. \$5.00. (Text edition, \$4.00.)

During the past twenty or so years there has been an immense amount of writing intended to sketch the whole of man's historical experience in a popular manner for the general reader and "survey" student. This is such a book. Dr. Catlin endeavors "to shake the shoulders of the common reader," but admits that the book is not meant to be dispassionate but as "a tiger burning bright at enmity with other current philosophies." Add together the fact that the book will not spare the colorful ink to be popular, and that the book is meant to portray Dr. Catlin's own particular philosophy of political history, and the normal difficulties of knowing enough about 3,000 years of history and political philosophy *correctly and accurately to understand and analyze them*, and you have what to the reviewer seem to be the fundamental causes of most of the shortcomings of this book. At times it seems as if Dr. Catlin has never read the works of many of the men he treats, nor made them, their opinions and their ideals the objects of careful study. This is particularly true of his treatment of the political thinkers before 1500. Dr. Catlin seems to be a "humanistic liberal" in his philosophy with a profound belief in what he calls "Anglo-Saxony and its tradition" by which equivocal term he seems to mean complete toleration, a so-called "empiricism," and a certain "Grand Tradition" aesthete-ism.

The statements in this book to which we object are many—too many to be enumerated here. We object to his beginning with man's "slimy past," and Sir J. G. Fraser's *Golden Bough*. We chuckle at his designation of the Scholastics of the Aristotelian Revival as the "unqualified barbarians of the Middle Ages." The Jesuits are the frequent object of innuendo: his "Plato . . . had no more sympathy than a naval officer on duty or the General of the Jesuits" being typical. We wonder whether this understanding of the Jesuits is the result of long and careful study, or of desultory reading in the "Black Pope" literature of the English Protestant Tradition.

Although many more examples of this kind could be given, yet we do not wish to give the impression that there is not much that is excellent in this book. Dr. Catlin's frequent and copious citations; his unique powers of drawing practical political philosophy out of the speculative philosophy of many modern writers; his interpretations which in many cases are original with himself; his unifying and comprehensive, though not detailed, grasp of the development of political philosophy; his facile and unburdened style; these, and many other qualities make his book interesting and readable, and one that may well be recommended with reservations to the *teacher* of political philosophy and to the *discerning* reader.

VIRGIL C. BLUM.

**The German-Americans in Politics, 1914-1917**, by Clifton James Childs. Madison. University of Wisconsin Press. 1939. pp. v + 193. \$2.00.

The National German-American Alliance was founded in 1901 for the worthy and very legitimate purpose of preserving the cultural heritage of Germans in the United States. Its most effective political activity during the pre-war years was displayed in the fight against national Prohibition, an experiment at once un-American and un-German. Its large and closely-knit membership, its excellent organization and its enthusiasm gave it power and influence, and won the respect of the nation. Then came the war and three stormy years.

So long as we were "neutral" the Alliance, strong in its two million members and the support of several other groups, opposed the shipment of munitions, the floating of foreign loans and the ever more efficient British propaganda. For obvious reasons it tried to block the return of Woodrow Wilson to the White House in the election of 1916. But Wilson made political capital by "repudiating the hyphen," the press grew louder in its charges of disloyalty, and with our entry into the war the Alliance fell on evil days.

Surely, Mr. Child's book can be called timely. As we move toward a new war hysteria thoughtful people will want to review

the conditioning process of twenty-five years ago. The elements of conflict are not exactly what they were in 1914-1917; nor are we likely to drift into the same kind of hatred of fellow citizens who happen to be Germans. But in whatever doubtful sense History repeats itself, we can learn from the past. Again, we shall have unfairness, misinterpretation and manifest partiality on the part of moulders of public opinion. If the present "phony" war drags on, we may again have manufactured documents, plots and outright forgeries to discredit neighbors whose blood begets sympathy for the "enemy." And the victims of our indignation may not be entirely without fault. There may be more of the bungling and bombast which cartoonists and columnists can exploit. Up to our entry into the last war the Alliance had a constitutional right to criticize the "neutrality" of our leaders. And we can understand its devotion to the German language though, to say the least, it was imprudent to the point of generating a natural resentment. Its official title was *Der Deutschamerikanische Nationalbund*; it idealized German *Kultur*; it sang *Deutschland über alles*. And American ignorance gave free rein to American imagination when the terms were translated. Sad memories should help to keep us sane. Our emotions should be taught to wait upon reason. This is what we get out of Mr. Child's calm survey of facts.

R. CORRIGAN.

**Christianity and Philosophy**, by Etienne Gilson. Translated by Ralph McDonald, C. S. B. New York. Sheed & Ward. 1939. pp. xxvi + 134. \$2.00.

It modestly pretends to be but a series of essays; in reality it is both a history of philosophy and a philosophy of history. The sermon of Father Gerald Phelan to the Catholic Educational Press Congress (Milwaukee, 1938) serves as a fitting introduction. Stimulating and thought-provoking the simplicity of this sermon is not less evident than its profundity is startling. The chapters of the book were originally a series of lectures delivered to a group of Protestant theologians at Paris, but the author has amended and revised both text and translation, and in addition has incorporated new material. The different chapters, "Nature and Philosophy," "Calvinism and Philosophy," "Catholicism and Philosophy," "Theology and Philosophy" are a profound analysis not only of the effect of "Reformed Theology" upon Philosophy, but also of the very possibility of a philosophy if the principles of "Reformed Theology" are accepted.

The work is one to be read and re-read. This is no more a fault in such a volume than the fact that one visit to a Gothic cathedral does not exhaust the appreciation of its beauty, would be an imperfection in such a structure. *Christianity and Philosophy* is emphatically a book that requires cooperation on the part of the reader, but it repays such cooperation many-fold. The medieval historian will realise the author's profound insight into the history of thought. The historian of the Reformation will find the book of very great help in understanding the thought-processes of the reformers. A historian of any period will profit from its perusal, for the book is a true contribution to history. The volume is a healthy preservative against being taken in by some of the too facile generalizations which masquerade as history.

The thought sequence leads, as do all true things, to God. And in the last chapter, "The Intelligence in the Service of Christ the King," the author with his wonted depth and clearness brings the reader face to face with a vision of beauty and gives him a profound insight into complete Catholicism.

L. DALY.

**Building the Canadian West**, by James B. Hedges. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. vii + 422. \$4.00.

*Building the Canadian West* is a rather romantic title for a specialized, matter-of-fact study of a gigantic business enterprise. The sub-title, "Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway," might seem more in keeping. Yet, it is certainly true that the Canadian Pacific was the determining factor in the settlement and organization of the Western Provinces.

Here we have, chiefly from government and railway archives, an authentic history of the subsidies, land sales, speculations, and cancellations that played so great a part in the westward push of Dominion colonization. The story of the Canadian Pacific's part in Canadian affairs is very much like that of our own pioneer western systems. However, it would seem that the Canadian Pacific, profiting from the earlier experiences of the United States roads, had a much better technique. The ready-made farms, farm loans, and advances for the purchase of livestock, along with the practice of fostering actual occupation, and



venience in the collection of installments made for a predetermined plan of immigration that was, in the main, successful. Of course, there are instances of unfortunate evictions and ruthless assessments. And the sad tales of crop failures and financial crises made the process, at times, a fluctuating and unpredictable quantity.

The Canadian Pacific spared no efforts in its endeavor to bring colonists to the West. It circularized foreign countries, established land offices in the United States, contacted discontented minorities in Europe, promoted tours of inspection for prospective farmers, and sought the cooperation of religious sects and societies. And through it all, the general impression is given that it was, in great part, an altruistic, patriotic spirit which prompted this activity.

Professor Hedges' work is scholarly and fairly exhaustive. It contains essential and interesting maps and charts. A somewhat heavy style and an occasional unexplained generalization are its chief defects. One of its chief values lies in its timeliness, coming out at a time when the discussion on the relative merits of the privately-owned Canadian Pacific and the government-owned Canadian National is so much in the Dominion's mind.

MARTIN HASTING.

**A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B. C.,**

by M. Cary. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xvi + 448. \$4.40.

**A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B. C.,**

by H. H. Scullard. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xv + 504. \$4.40.

**A History of the Roman World from 146 to 30 B. C.,**

by Frank B. Marsh. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xii + 427. \$4.40.

**A History of the Roman World from A. D. 138 to 337,**

by H. M. D. Parker. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xii + 402. \$4.40.

These are four of a set of seven volumes which are to comprise Macmillan's *History of the Greek and Roman World*. Under the general editorship of Professor M. Cary of London University, all of these works are written by competent scholars and should form a very useful set of books. The four volumes here under consideration had been published in England in the years 1932, 1934, 1935, respectively, but were published in the United States only this fall. In fact the volume by Professor Cary has already been reviewed in the *Historical Bulletin*, XI (January, 1933), 39, under the title of *The Legacy of Alexander: A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B. C.* The present volume is identical with this latter work in every respect,—in England it was formerly published by the Dial Press as were all the other volumes of this series. The English publication of these works has been very favorably received.

Concerning all four volumes it can be said in general that political history is especially emphasized, but that economic, social, and cultural history have not been neglected. Each volume is accompanied by maps, a bibliography, and several excellent appendices. The history is traced with unvaried precision with, of course, certain variations which result from the differing personalities of the authors and the problems confronting them in their attempts to treat the various assigned periods.

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The volume by Professor Cary himself is to be highly recommended. The editor has chosen for himself one of the most difficult periods in European history to treat but he performs his task exceedingly well. The sources for this period are very fragmentary and inadequate, while its complexity is enough to try any scholar's soul. But the author has managed to make his picture sufficiently full and to develop it along lines which bring a unity to the chaos of political events and struggles. The book is divided into two parts of nearly equal length. The first is devoted entirely to political and military events; the second, to sketches of Hellenistic life and institutions. This second part will probably be the most used portion of the book, for it is of great reference value to the classical and history student who wishes brief, authoritative, well-written sketches of certain phases of the Hellenistic period.

The second volume by Mr. Scullard, which covers the history of Rome from the beginnings to 146 B. C. is on an equally high plane. This period, while presenting a problem similar to that

of the Hellenistic Age, has greater intrinsic interest to the average student and has already been very well worked by scholars. This fact probably accounts for the most outstanding trait of this book, namely its many detailed summaries of causes, effects, and institutions. In spite of this trait, however, the main lines of the development are made to stand out with considerable precision and are not obscured over-much by detail. The documentation is full but not over-elaborated, and when controversial points are discussed the fact that they are controversial is indicated as well as some of the opposing arguments.

The third volume, by Professor Marsh, covers a period which can be and is rendered in a truly moving and epic fashion. The Decline and Fall of the Republic is portrayed with fine scholarship and also in a very interesting way. This is perhaps the only book of the four here under consideration which even the general reader will take up and refuse to lay down until he has read it through. Professor Marsh displays his usual precision of detail, interpretation, and documentation features which make the volume a fitting companion for the others in this scholarly series.

The fourth volume, which is written by Mr. Parker, might be characterized as mostly an "emperor-history." The character, deeds, and vicissitudes of the various reigns are carefully done, but it seems to the reviewer that the various religious, cultural, economic, social, and even many of the political factors which were so prominent in this period of disintegration are not sufficiently delineated. Yet all the essential matter is given by the author; there merely seems to be lacking the proper placement and interpretation of the material. However, this drawback is not enough to overshadow the worth of the book.

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In conclusion it should be noted that the plan of these volumes is a very good one. They have certain of the advantages of the great cooperative histories of the Cambridge type, in that distinct periods are given to experts. But they also avoid some of the drawbacks in that there is more unity of treatment than is possible in the Cambridge type. Another advantage of this series over the great cooperative works is that they are cheaper and less bulky. Consequently, these four volumes can prove to be very valuable for reference and especially for supplementary reading. Over and above this, Professor Cary's work could very well serve as a text for a course on the Hellenistic Period and Professor Marsh's volume should certainly be included on the reading list of every Latin student.

R. L. PORTER.

**Alaska, Its History, Resources, Geography, and Govern-**

**ment,** by Mariette Shaw Pilgrim. The Caxton Printers.

Caldwell, Idaho. 1939. pp. 296. \$3.00.

Information gathered from "histories, logs of early voyagers, government bulletins and pamphlets, accounts of early explorers, newspapers, magazines, books on wild life, letters, biographies, interviews, government records, periodicals, official documents and reports, and various other sources," and put together with much discernment, issues in this volume, intended primarily for children in Alaska, but valuable for all who are interested in that immense American territory.

In 1930 there were not quite 60,000 inhabitants, 26,640 whites, about 30,000 native Indians and Eskimos, 278 Japanese, 164 Philipinos, 136 Negroes and 77 not classified, scattered over the more than half a million square miles. Juneau has just over 4,000 and six other cities have over 1,000 inhabitants. The book deals very little with persons. However it does mention the Spanish explorers, who preceded the British; Juan Perez, 1774, and Juan Quadra, 1775. The latter planted a cross and took possession in the name of the Spanish monarch. The Russians though had already taken possession. These Spaniards are not mentioned in the *Americana* or the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

This book should have been gotten out by the U. S. Government; but in that case neither the paper nor the print would be of the fine quality that the Idaho printers have given us.

L. J. KENNY.

**Punishment and the Social Structure,** by George Rusche

and Otto Kirchheimer. Columbia University Press. New

York. 1939. pp. xiv + 268. \$3.00.

The International Institute of Social Research, with its group of German émigré scholars, is now affiliated to Columbia University. We have here the first publication of the Institute's new American series. It is a history of punishment which emphasizes the influences of ideas and of social, economic and political



factors upon the penal system. The authors would investigate the causes for changes in penal methods in specific historical periods, from the Middle Ages, to National Socialism. Great stress is placed upon the economic causes of change in penal methods. In fact, the general thesis, that methods of punishment are determined by productive relationships, looks too much like economic determinism. Unduly praised, too, are the doctrines of Kant, Hegel and Feuerbach. For example, "the safety of the state and of the individual requires an absolute separation of law from morality, according to Feuerbach." Nor can we agree with the authors that economic conditions under the Nazis are the causes for abandonment of fixed legal norms for punishment.

The work does have historical value, though its historical interpretations are incomplete. Praiseworthy, too, are the efforts to find the interrelations of culture and punishment. Such efforts should be imitated by those of us who have a culture that is made up of something more than economic and fiscal elements. The thesis of the authors that, "every system of production tends to discover punishments which correspond to its productive relationships," should be challenged. Some other Institute of Social Research should develop the thesis that, "every system of religious culture tends to inflict punishments which correspond to its cultural ideology."

WM. G. DOWNING.

**John Tyler: Champion of the South**, by O. P. Chitwood. New York. Appleton-Century. 1939. pp. xvi + 496. \$4.00.

John Tyler has long been considered an enigmatic figure in American Presidential history. As a consequence, his character and his policies have suffered much at the hands of partial and partisan writers. It used to be the fashion to portray him as an exceedingly stubborn, uncompromising fanatic, blackballed by his own party. Lately we have witnessed the antithesis, and find him pictured as a courageous champion, sincerely consistent in his principles, too high-souled to submit to political chicanery.

Professor Chitwood's interestingly written work, which is based largely on documents in the archives of the Library of Congress and the Virginia Assembly, as well as on a private collection of Tyler's letters and papers, presents one of the more objective attempts to "vindicate" the one-time president. However, one suspects the author of just a little too much sympathy toward the object of his study. But perhaps, after all, we should not be too critical on this point. It is high time that the slung mud of prejudice be brushed off some of our greater American figures. Tyler is certainly one who can profit by this service of the historian.

E. KILKER.

**Daniel Boone: Master of the Wilderness**, by John Bakeless. New York. Morrow and Co. 1939. pp. xii + 480. \$3.50.

In writing the life of Daniel Boone an author has ready to his hand abundant matter for a biography whose romance and adventure assure its popular appeal. There might well be the temptation to ignore the broader aspects of the great pioneer's life and concentrate on the more purely personal angle, to neglect the history made for the history maker. But in the present biography the author has combined the two elements, and the result is an interesting, popularly written life of Boone which at the same time gives an historically accurate picture of the times in which he lived. The early explorations of Kentucky and its settlement, the Indian wars, and the Revolution in the trans-mountain region are all recounted, with Boone as the central figure. The final years of the master of the wilderness, in which the civilization he had heralded caught up with him, stripped him of his gains, and forced him again into the western wilderness, are not so important in history, but they are the finishing touch to a well-filled life and are here well described. The book is well documented and has a good bibliography.

J. R. DERRIG.

**Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States, 1815-1860**, by Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly. The United States Catholic Historical Society. New York. 1939. pp. x + 290.

Nothing but praise can be said of this volume. Its exclusions—for the reader may wonder for a moment why a great many other colonies are not mentioned—will seem to call for reprehension.

The perusal of but a few pages will offer a perfect explanation. Sister Mary Gilbert is herself pioneering, historically, in an immense field, an almost virgin soil in American Catholic history. If she had yielded to the call of opportunity she would have had to write not one but several volumes. One feels suppression on every page, although the style is delightfully placid. The book is a gentle woman's work, yet there is not the slightest hint of pathos in the recital of the hundreds of tragedies that necessarily accompanied these efforts at colonization. The author knew the names of the families, and no doubt of their descendants today, of these Catholic advanced guards on the Catholic front, but dared not deviate from the general theme to include such lists no matter how precious as gems these names, or some among them, would surely be to various among her readers. Suppression is not the chief merit of the recital; on the contrary, the large grasp of the essentials of the story and the limpid clarity of the thought are among the other rare and outstanding qualities.

L. J. KENNY.

**Furs to Furrows**, by Sydney Greenbie. Caldwell, Idaho. The Caxton Printers. 1939. pp. 413. \$3.50.

Sydney Greenbie's new book will probably have a rather wide sale because the subject matter is most interesting and the period covered is one of adventure and romance. The author has a pleasant style and an intriguing manner. He leads you on. But let no one beguile himself into thinking that this book is history. It has the trappings of a bibliography and the rest, but it isn't history. The present reviewer has been somewhat exasperated by earlier writings of Mr. Greenbie. It always irritates the historian to have a capable writer dabble in a period which deserves serious research. The very material which Greenbie handles has yet to be worked carefully. No good history of the great fur companies exists. No good study of the relations of Indians and whites has been written. And the author of this work is capable of doing some of that work.

Sydney Greenbie seems to be an engaging person who has a fund of information about the fur trade. He has a sense for the historical, but too much of a flare for the spectacular. His friends should insist that he stop turning out just interesting books and require him to produce a scholarly treatise on the Northwest Company or the Indians of the Northwest. It is very unfortunate that he stoops to producing slightly off-color chapters on "living in the wilderness" when he should be giving us good solid chapters on the fur trade.

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY.

**On the Writing of History**, by Sir Charles Oman. New York. E. P. Dutton. pp. xi + 307. \$2.50.

Here we have the reminiscences of an old man. At times apparently aimless, the book has a purpose. Aside even from the innocent satisfaction which the octogenarian professor derives from pouring forth his immense erudition in a thousand allusions to historical events and persons, there is the very positive counsel to *write history*, that is, of course, if you can write history. Some thirty years ago, Charles Oman was talking like a veteran on this topic. In an inaugural lecture, back in 1906, he all but wept over the tragedy of Lord Acton gone to his grave with his prodigious knowledge and a potential masterpiece still unwritten. The ideal book you hope to write, says the professor, may kill the good book you *can* write.

Professor Oman has himself delved with considerable success in a dozen distinct fields, with a noticeable penchant, however, for the rattle of sabres and the rumble of cannon. He has produced over twenty volumes, one of which, *England Before the Norman Conquest*, is in its eighth edition. Hence he speaks with some authority. He expects critics to disagree with him but his suave common-sense manner disarms the reviewer. We follow him in his dislike of the "superior" Edward Gibbon type and of the *vulgarizateurs* like H. G. Wells. Also, he is right in refusing to find truth halfway between the "debunkers" and the "whitewashers." Historiography has evolved quite noticeably during his long lifetime. So much so, that he can now repudiate the once dominant ideas of "progress" and inevitable "evolution." His own conception of history, he writes, "is a series of interesting happenings, often illogical and cataclysmic, not a logical and orderly development from causes to inevitable results."

This book will serve a good purpose if it rouses a few timid souls who are capable of writing to break away from mere research and publish a book or two. It would serve another good purpose if it could discourage a few mere writers who should spend more time finding something to write about.

R. CORRIGAN.



*The Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780-1860*, by Edward C. Mack. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xvi + 432. \$3.75.

The taunt has often been made that the English Public Schools are called "English" because they are an importation from Germany, "Public" because they are exclusively private and cater solely to the wealthy aristocracy, and "Schools" because they are little more than athletic clubs and socialized homes for boys. The least true of these accusations is the first. Edward C. Mack shows very clearly that they are nothing else but not distinctively English schools—English in their conception, in their origins and evolution, and decidedly English in their traditionalism and conservatism. There is no answer to the second charge, and no defense has ever been seriously advanced.

The author of this book has given us a reverse side of the art tapestry that Hughes gave us in "Tom Brown's School Days." In his critical and analytical study he has shown us how the various threads have been woven together from the founding of Winchester down to the mid-Victorian landmark of the Parliamentary Commission. But he has gone farther than that. He has, as it were, recorded the facial contortions, or the reactions, of those who beheld and criticized this British masterpiece in the educational world. It is a very thorough work. The viewpoint from which it is written ably refutes those who believe that a history of education is nothing more than a catalogue of dates of the founding of schools.

The importance of this cross-view of educational history is readily apparent, not only from the fact that these Public Schools have been aptly termed the "mint for the coining of empire builders," but also from the important role that these schools have played in the domestic English scene. Confining himself to seven schools that answered the definition of a Public School before 1840—Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Winchester, Westminster, and Charterhouse—he actually deals more at length with Eton and with Arnoldian Rugby.

It is to be regretted that in this excellent work, which will certainly take its place among the best of the many works on the Public Schools, the author has seen fit to make slurring references to "Newmanism, and the Newmanites," and to "Jesuit doctrines." The author also shows, unconsciously perhaps, but nevertheless plainly, his lack of sympathy for the classical tradition and for a truly liberal education. Otherwise the book displays an objectivity that is especially difficult to attain in a work that deals with opinion and with largely controversial topics. The fact that the author is not a Public School man, nor even an Englishman has not detracted from, but rather enhanced, the merits of this study.

E. J. FARREN.

*The British War Blue Book*, presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Parliament. New York. Farrar & Rinehart. 1939. pp. xxxiv + 251. \$1.15.

By way of explanation of its nature and purpose this Blue Book carries the sub-title: *Documents concerning German-Polish relations and the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and Germany on September 3, 1939*. It is "published in the United States by permission of the Controller of His Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office." It covers the period from January 26, 1934, to September 4, 1939. The story opens with Germany and Poland falling into one another's arms in friendly accord. Then follow brief extracts from Hitler harangues over a period of five years which look like overtures of perpetual peace with Poland. After this slow approach come with quickening tempo speeches, pacts, interviews, instructions and comments of various kinds, all leading to the final clash of arms. A special feature is the attempted mediation of other states and of the Holy Father. The whole is, of course, Britain's view of how the war came, with a scarcely veiled appeal for world sympathy. The publisher presents the book as a collection of documents still warm enough to be news and eventually of value as history. The price is moderate.

R. C.

*A Survey of European Civilization*, by Walter K. Ferguson and Geoffrey Bruun. Chicago. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1939. pp. xxx + 1118 + xcix. \$4.75.

This work is intended as a textbook for the college freshman survey course. As such, we find it the least objectionable introduction to the history of European civilization. There are better and more comprehensive treatments of the different periods of

European history, for example, the encyclopedic work of Carlton Hayes on modern history, but none covers the entire field more satisfactorily.

The teacher of history in a Catholic university will find it necessary to correct misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the Church's position in European history. The authors are not Catholics, and though they attempt to treat the role of the Church in Europe fairly, they cannot be expected to understand its position on many questions that involve both religious and political issues. Yet, on the whole, the Church is fairly well treated, and we do not think it necessary to point out the particular errors in this text.

Ferguson and Bruun's text first appeared in 1936; it was revised this year by the addition of five chapters on the ancient world before the Roman Empire. The first of these chapters, on prehistoric man, should never have been written. In it Bruun has assembled all sorts of wild guesses and theories on prehistoric origins, many of which have been long since discredited. The other sixty-seven chapters, however, do much to redeem this first one.

All surveys must telescope the history they present, and the author is faced not so much with the problem of what to say as of what to leave unsaid. Ferguson and Bruun have used good judgment in assembling a fairly well balanced survey of European history. One could object, however, that the economic factor is somewhat overstressed in the ancient and medieval periods. But this objection applies even more to most other modern books on European history.

THOMAS P. NEILL.

*English Political Institutions: an Introductory Study*, by John A. R. Marriott. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1938. pp. xlix + 348. \$1.75.

Students of English constitutional history need no introduction to Sir John Marriott. His numerous scholarly contributions during the past three decades have established him as an outstanding authority in this field. None of his works has enjoyed a more widespread and consistent popularity than this handbook, which now appears in its fourth edition. It presents in admirably compact form the salient features of the English constitution, a description of the nature and functioning of the branches of national and local government, and a discussion of the relations between the British state and the Empire. In each case the political science of the subject is accompanied by an account of its historical development.

The method adopted in the 1925 edition of summarizing in an introductory chapter the principal changes which have taken place in the structure and working of the constitution since the appearance of the previous edition has been wisely retained. As a result the book possesses the double value of being currently informative while remaining convenient for reference by reason of its substantially unaltered text and pagination. The reader will regret that the markedly inadequate index has not been amplified.

C. J. RYAN.

*White Noon*, by Sigrid Van Sweringen. Benziger Brothers. New York. 1939. pp. 367. \$2.50.

*White Noon* is an historical novel which tells the story of the European voyage and conversion of Elizabeth Seton. The dying condition of her husband, the trials of the Italian Lazaretto, her religious perplexities, and finally the death of her husband and her own conversion are some of the events which lend themselves to a vivid, realistic narrative. One follows the author with ease as she traces the spiritual reawakening occurring in this magnanimous soul. The entire book is permeated with a decidedly Catholic and religious tone.

The brevity with which the author tells of the death of the husband and the widow's complete conversion is dramatic, and stands out in striking contrast to the prolonged treatment of preceding events. For it may be said in general that the movement is a bit slow. This is due to the author's completeness; no detail is left to the imagination of the reader, the gravity of her heroine's situation is constantly reiterated, and unnecessary digressions are frequent.

Yet the book is not to be overlooked by the general reader. It contains very much solid and instructive matter. Of particular interest is this book for the convert and many enthusiastic admirers of Elizabeth Seton, who will learn, as they read these pages, to love and reverence yet more her character and her sanctity.

R. R. McAULEY.



**Charles II: The Last Rally**, by Hilaire Belloc. New York. Harper & Brothers Publishers. 1939. pp. 280. \$3.50.

Hilaire Belloc has produced yet another book. His latest effort is an historical biography that may deservedly take its place among the many excellent portraits of outstanding figures of history that have come from his facile pen. *Charles II* gives a vivid account of the "Last Rally" of the English Monarchy against the Money Power. The struggle of Charles Stuart is traced through the trying years of exile, through the long uphill battle against the forces striving for the supremacy of government by the wealthy, to the brief moment of apparent triumph, which terminated abruptly in the king's death in 1685. His task was enormous, the forces against him overwhelming; his ship of state struck a "sunken reef" in the personal call of the Faith to him and to his brother James, Duke of York, the future James II.

Mr. Belloc has given us a forceful and convincing study of this "Last Rally" of the English Monarchy. He has the ability to give to an isolated incident its proper setting in the whole scene. Charles II is made to live again before us as the last of the true English Monarchs, a king willing to sacrifice everything to the fulfillment of his task—the restoration of the Monarchy. The traditional Bellocian theses are presented in the usual forceful style. The book is worth-while as an interesting insight into the meaning of English History. CHARLES L. SANDERSON.

**A Select Bibliography of British History, 1660-1760**, by Clyde L. Grose. University of Chicago Press. 1939. pp. xxv + 507. \$9.00.

Criticism by a battery of experts during the six years prior to publication has assured the author of this book that he has made the right selection of more than eight thousand references for the period from the accession of Charles II to the death of George II. He does not pretend that he has given even half of the many works he could have cited, but he has inspected all save twenty-nine of those he has given. His selections were made on a basis of quality, usefulness, and suitability of types, though a few were included "because of an unjustified reputation." True the *Bibliography* sponsored by the Royal Historical Society and the American Historical Association has covered the Stuart period in one volume, and another, for the eighteenth century, will shortly appear. The reason advanced for attempting to compete with these works is that the period 1660 to 1760 is more of a unit than a century delimited by purely dynastic considerations.

The first part of the book is given to the period as a whole, three other parts dealing respectively with the years 1660-1688, 1689-1714, and 1715-1760. Topics in any one division include: General, Travel, Constitutional, Diplomatic, Military, Naval, Economic, Social, Religious, Cultural, Local, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and Colonial.

Any graduate student writing a thesis on this period cannot ignore this book. It will save considerable time for those engaged in research since it contains much useful information about archives and about most of the books mentioned. H. H. C.

**Marshall and Taney, Statesmen of the Law**, by Ben W. Palmer. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press. 1939. pp. viii + 281. \$3.50.

The two most outstanding men who have been connected with the Supreme Court of the United States are John Marshall and Roger Brooke Taney. As Mr. Palmer states, John Marshall has been "canonized" by the judges and constitutional lawyers of America, while Roger B. Taney has the mark of cursedness on his name and judicial acts. This book is a serious attempt to reappraise and vindicate Taney, who followed Marshall as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1835.

Mr. Palmer asks, "Are Judges human beings?, that is when they mount the bench, do they throw off all prejudice and bias? Or do they, with mechanical precision and nicety, interpret and apply the law of the land just as it is written?" The most important cases and decisions of John Marshall are cited, and the reasons for his so-called canonization are given. Then Roger B. Taney's political and judicial activities are reviewed, followed in each case by the reactions of the politicians and statesmen of the time, and their condemnation of the man. The author reappraises Taney in the light of what he calls the "durable results." Taney contributed to the formation of American constitutional law

equally with Marshall; he was far better prepared by his training and past experience to take up the position of the Chief Justice. Taney was damned principally because of the Dred Scott decision, which was given at a very critical period in our history. Yet the lasting results which have flowed from his decisions call for this general reappraisal and vindication of Roger B. Taney. Mr. Palmer has given us a book which will certainly prove of value to those who are interested in a more thorough study of American constitutional history. W. HARRIS.

**A Short History of the American Negro** (Fourth Revised Edition), by Benjamin Brawley. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xv + 228. \$2.00.

In the welter of problems that present-day America has fallen heir to, the Negro question is still one of the most important and one of the most difficult. Unfortunately Catholics, as a whole, have not been too zealous in working for the solution of this problem. In America at present there are but 250,000 negro Catholics. It is a sad fact, but one that we must know. To stimulate interest in the problem a book such as this is worth reading.

It is simply an American history rewritten from the Negro's point of view, but it is very helpful in learning the fundamental facts of the American Negro's story. The book would be a useful reference work for those whose libraries have but little material on the history of the Negro in America. The author is fair and restrained even in judgment of facts about which one could become fervidly eloquent. The book would prove especially helpful to teachers who find themselves instructing students who are strongly biased against the Negro. L. DALY.

**The Massacre of Old Fort Mackinac**, by Raymond McCoy. Bay City. McCoy. 1939. pp. 146.

The "Old Northwest" is synonymous with romance, adventure drama. Our imaginations are stirred by the mere mention of the old forts of Sandusky, Detroit and Michilimackinac. We thrill to the names of Marquette, La Salle, Cadillac, Rogers and Pontiac. We revel in the sagas of the frontier, the exploits of trappers, explorers, *coureurs de bois*, Indian fighters and missionaries. Here is history that is intriguing, exciting, inspiring.

The author of this little volume has caught much of this spirit. With a keen sense of the intrinsic interest of his story he gives us, in much more than a mere historical novel, a vivid, accurate enough picture of "one of the most dramatic happenings in the eventful history of the region," the massacre of the British at the Old Fort in 1763.

In order to provide the proper setting the writer presents first a brief, general survey of the history of the region from the founding of the Mission of St. Ignace by Father Marquette through the vicissitudes of fur trading, Indian wars and Mormon settlements to the present. Then follows the real story.

MARTIN HASTING.

**Revisions of the Treaty of Versailles**, by Waldo E. Stephens. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xii + 285. \$3.00.

The League of Nations was a noble experiment. At least, it was an experiment. But had the contents of this book been spread out before the vision of the Utopians who made it, their hollow enthusiasm would have been darkened. And even the Realists who clipped its wings and its claws and left it a cripple in its cradle might have been more practical. The League was a cooperative venture "without sufficient authority to decide important matters involving the interests of States and without adequate power to enforce the action it was authorized to take in certain situations." The story of "revisions" is one of futile amendments permitted by the victors who got the spoils and thought only in terms of security for the status quo and their own supremacy. It is more emphatically the story of strong arm bluffing and smashing of paper fences by nations that refused to remain weak. The outcome has been international anarchy. And sometimes we wonder how it could have been otherwise.

In Part One Mr. Stephens discusses "the nature and scope of provisions designed to effect changes in the Treaty of Versailles." In Part Two he reviews the "revisions" of the Treaty. As a factual survey of modifications, chiefly by amendments, and as a running commentary the book has value. It will be of interest to the research student, the lecturer and, here and there, the general reader.

R. CORRIGAN.